

HISTORY  
of the  
RENAISSANCE  
IN  
FRANCE

By

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Second improved and extended Edition

With 163 woodcut illustrations

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### Preface to the First Edition.

For evident reasons in the treatment of the French Renaissance, I must abandon the systematic handling, that Jacob Burckhardt devoted to the Renaissance in Italy and return to the historical representation. France, unlike Italy has not created an entire art from the spirit of the people, in which all life finds its glorified expression, but from external impulses caused by its princes, in the midst of a still mediaeval feeling world, much interested and indeed misled by Gothic traditions, an architecture was produced that chiefly came into use on secular buildings, indeed in the first line on the palaces of the king and of the nobles. Thereby the tendency of French architecture became onesided, and its expression infinitely varied, so that it obtains both for the historian as well as for the practical architect a special value. Everyone will trace with interest the sharply drawn line of the movement, in which from the play of independent caprice and choice, there gradually developed simplicity, clarity and grace, a new and entirely peculiar style. This will not be observed without instruction, as a still actually creative period has understood by the genius of careful artists, how to impress the canons of antique forms and the influence of Italian art on an entirely original and national architecture. National in the only sense permissible in architecture, that it gives to the customs and views of the separate people in a definite epoch a corresponding artistic stamp. For the forms and details are beyond all national restrictions, as the ever valid laws and conditions, the common property of mankind. That outside a time like our own, whose peculiar architectural problems lie in the domain of secular architecture, from the French Renaissance buildings, that were created for allied needs and under similar climatic conditions, many things can be learned, is self evident.

In the representation, since description must necessarily predominate, I have endeavored to proceed as briefly and clearly, as accurately and perspicuously as possible. Likewise I feel that without illustrations my purpose can be only partially attained. A series of characteristic illustrations, in great part transferred to the wood blocks by Professor and Architect Baldinger, have therefore been added. Some are



entirely new from photographs, others from the travel sketches kindly transmitted to me by my friend G. Lasius. The publishers as always have then taken my wishes into account with the most meritorious liberality. Further I refer to the numerous valuable publications of French architects and engravers, from Du Cerceau till the most recent time, particularly to the new edition of Du Cerceau's well known principal work, recently undertaken by M. Distailleur. (A. Levy. Paris).

Since my description is the first attempt of an independent and exhaustive treatment of this subject, so will a fairly judging critic certainly take this into consideration. It is to be hoped he will neither miss the conscientious study, nor the earnest endeavor for objective appreciation of the art worth of the works described. But for the present generation of architects, I am of the opinion, they should lay to heart the thorough study of the Renaissance before all else, since we can learn just from the creations of that epoch, how an architecture extending beyond mere eclecticism, with entire freedom employs the sum of classical traditions of form, in order only to create the best suited and most expressive clothing for the spiritual nature and the practical needs of our own time and our own people.

### Preface to the Second Edition.

Since the appearance of the first edition of this book, our knowledge of the French Renaissance has been considerably extended. First we owe to the recently completed works of Palustre a considerable increase of later views. These results as well as those of my own local studies will make more valuable the new edition of this book, for a long time entirely out of print, which was my principal aim. The structure that I constructed has experienced no internal transformation, but indeed a considerable external enrichment. A perception very pleasing to me, for I must derive from it the conviction, that I had rightly conceived all essentials and had fixed a permanent general view in the history of art. That the new edition can receive besides this enrichment of the text, also an important increase in the illustrations by well chosen representations of unpublished monuments, will considerably extend the value of the book. Likewise by wider studies was secured a substantial enrichment; I call attention to the Sections on Jean Fouquet, On king Rene, and to the important illustrations in French books.

But then was the rich and splendid domain of French industrial art, that here for the first time is treated in connection with the architecture of the period. While here was required a restriction to French art, peculiar and prominent, this is to emphasize joinery and wood carving, the important domain of French ceramics with the magnificent works of Palissy and the splendid creations of Oiron faience, and also of Limousine enamels, glass painting, and finally bookbinding.

All these tendencies and endeavors of the French Renaissance art are so important to recommend for the study of our artists, architects and workers in the industrial arts, that for a long time too exclusively and without choice came to a labored imitation of our German Renaissance, frequently with a dry and overloaded progress in modern production, that never goes beyond the limit of the old original works. This tendency must not merely be to the Italian Renaissance, but also to the French, whose refinement and artistic harmony can be instructive to us in a high degree. For all that science discovers shall come to the aid of the creative life, to transpose it

itself into freshly pulsating life.

June. 1885.

W. Lübke

## Chapter I. Transformation of the French Spirit.

### 1. Italian Campaigns of Charles VIII and of Louis XII.

Charles VII had freed France from the English, Louis XI by the overthrow of the great vassals and by favoring the citizen class strengthened the royal power and furthered the unity of the kingdom. Those were the conditions obtained under which France could enter into the new period. But to entirely break with the middle ages required a foreign influence, from the country which already since the beginning of the 15 th century had decisively passed along the new path, and in a magnificent reflection of the art and science of classic antiquity, even strove to transform the entire life. A hereditary claim led Charles VIII and Louis XII with Francis I later beyond the Alps; but a deeper ground was the surplus strength of the freshly blooming French nation, and was during the entire middle ages the desire impelling the Germanic races toward the South, which occasioned these numerous campaigns. The capricious journey of Charles VIII undertaken without discretion and preparation, makes rather the impression of an arrogant wantonness than of an earnest campaign. There is an unbroken series of festivals in which Charles became intoxicated with his knights as youthful as himself. In Turin the princess of Piedmont in a fabulously rich procession and surrounded by a multitude of young ladies began a series of festivities; in Asti the beaten L. Sforza sought to entrap the foolish and weak, easily impassioned king by fifty of the rarest and least coy beauties; in Pisa was an entire chorus of supplicating dames by which men sought to induce him to free the city from the Florentine yoke. The host of the French everywhere received by triumphal arches, scenic representations, historic pageants and magnificent processions. The climax was attained by this invasion of Naples, whose luxurious festival was a second Capua for the king and his men. Charles was particularly charmed by the beauty of the Villa Poggio reale, that residence adorned with all the charm of the early Renaissance, with its airy porticos, fountains, beds of roses, and the shady masses of the trees in its park. Serlio gives in his book a description and representation of this now vanished pleasure palace built by king Alfonso. In the middle, he says, was a rectangular court with a deep basin

surrounded by arcades, down to which led flights of steps. Here the king dined on fine days with selected ladies and cavaliers, and when he pleased, the basin was filled with water to a fixed mark, the men and women remaining together in an improvised bath. There were not wanting rich garments for clothing them again, nor costly beds for those needing rest. "O delights of Italy," adds the narrator in his inspiration; "how were our discards extinguished by it!"

Thus a world of unexpected beauty displayed itself to the excitable Frenchmen. Instead of their mediaeval castles surrounded by walls and moat, protected by lofty and threatening towers and crowning battlements, they saw the princely and magnificent open palaces with their loggias and arcades, their decoration by marble, paintings and sculptures, the villas with wide porticos and magnificent gardens. At home all was gloomy, defiant and warlike; here all was gay, open and with fresh life. We know what wealth of masterpieces originated by two generations of architects, sculptors and painters, after Brunellesco, Ghiberti, Masaccio in Florence and other cities of Italy, in churches, chapels and palaces. Even now the abundance of these charming works has a fascination on us; how much must then such beauty have appeared to the unaccustomed northerners in the full charm of novelty. The massive ashlar masonry of the Florentine palaces even finds mention by the dry chronicler, and palace Medici (Riccardo) then gleaming in splendor and newness, which was assigned to the king as a residence, appeared to him as entirely built of marble. But by preference were described the charms of villas, that in their free combination of architecture, gardens and parks always aroused astonishment anew. All this makes a deep impression upon Charles; we see him in Florence and Rome diligently wandering about, particularly around the churches and to observe their remarkable things; we see him purchase art works and books, and himself invite a number of artists to France, to execute works there for him.

Yet stronger were the influences of Italy under Louis XII. More clearly are recognized the impressions of Italian art in the lists of the chroniclers. Thus Jean of Autun describes the beauty of the parks of Pavia, its magnificent groups of buildings, of luxuriant meadows, brooks and fountains, ornamental

gardens and pleasure houses, that make it appear to him to be a real Eden. So he gives an accurate description of the cathedral at Genoa with its portal, aisles, columns of porphyry, chapel of John the Baptist with statues and a marble tabernacle and its statues. Likewise the beautiful works of M. Civitale of Lucca deeply impressed the eyes of the royal historiographer, although he does not give the name of the master. But also he does not forget the finger of the saint, with which he had pointed out the Lord, and that "supernaturally was exempt from the power of fire." The astonishment at Italy was also reflected later in Rabelais' Pantagruel, where Epistemon tells of a visit, that he made years before together with others desirous of learning, in order to see certain learned men, rarities and antiquities. "We saw attentively the beautiful location and magnificence of Florence, the building of the cathedral, the noble temples and the proud palaces." On the contrary a monk of Amiens says:—"I know not what you make for a joke, the lion and African (so I think is called what men elsewhere name a tiger), to look at them there by the watchtower, like the ostriches and hedgehogs in the palace of P.Strozzi. My faith, I would rather see a fat goose on the spit. The porphyry and marble there are beautiful, I do not blame them; but according to my taste far better are the butter cakes of Amiens. These antique statues are well made, I am willing to believe; but by S. Ferreol of Abbeville, our little maid at home is a thousand times more affectionate."

Also Louis XII brought art works from Italy as well as artists, among the latter being first of all Fra Giocondo, the famous Venetian architect. Yet we should search in vain for any vestiges of his work. On the contrary we possess the historical work of C. Seyssel, that the king had taken into his service as historiographer.

## 2. Influence of the Italian campaigns on the nobility.

The French nobles were still entirely involved in the mode of life and opinions of the middle ages. In the Italian campaigns was recognized the last blaze of the knightly spirit and at the same time the first marks of the decadence, from the coming of the new civilization. Charles VIII drew the mediaeval sword as a romantic adventurer for the conquest of

Naples and the entirely fanciful taking of Constantinople; Francis I was the last knight and at the same time the destroyer of knighthood. Still the noble dwelt in his strong castle, but his power was broken by Louis XI, the royal power increasing more and more; thus from knighthood gradually came a court and more nobles in the service of the crown. The noble ladies sat at home in the old custom in their lonesome castles, surrounded by maidens of distinguished race, bringing up children, embroidering, reading and even writing. We have a pleasant representation of such life from Gabrielle de Bourbon, the first wife of the brave Louis de la Trémouille, who himself wrote little treatises "in honor of God, of the Virgin Mary and for the instruction of young ladies."

But the knights themselves in great part were not friendly to the sciences and arts. The poet Alain Chartier complains; "the more this foolish speech is current today, that a nobleman should not favor letters and esteem it a reproach to read well or write well." Returning from his campaigns the French knight disdained the Italian because of his effeminacy, that usually is inseparable from a high bloom of culture; yet the views there obtained of a magnificent <sup>court</sup> ~~xxx~~ transformed his spirit, and unnoticed he brought the sciences and arts from Italy home with himself. But the strongest shock was received by the feudal life by the changed method of war of the new period, the introduction of heavy guns and the overpowering importance of infantry. The knightly man in heavy armor on his also armored horse no longer gave a shock as before; his armor was for him rather a protection. And likewise did it result for the feudal castles, whose walls could resist the heavy cannon just as little as the called power of the kingdom. Thus all contributed to transform the nature of the nobility.

Nevertheless the old traditions are so powerful, the feeling and consciousness of warlike fitness so predominant, that knighthood but slowly and with difficulty gave up its feudal character. How small was at first even the influence of Italian campaigns is noted by the statements of the chroniclers and historians. They present scarcely anything except as tales of warlike deeds, in any case alternating with descriptions of festivals, whose climaxes are tournaments in mediæval fashion.

fashion. First under Henry II the new time comes to a breach, and Brantome tells of a feast, which the cardinal of Ferrara gave to the king at Lyons, where were combats of gladiators in antique fashion, a sea fight, and finally a tragedy as the best, which was exhibited by Italian actors and actresses, public enjoyments as the narrator assumes, that previously never occurred in France.

Until the time of Louis XII and even to that of Francis I one hunts in vain through the mass of memoirs for artistic or literary records; even for Italian buildings or sculptures are found only scattered notes. Thus there penetrates into French life at first but sparingly the influence of Italy. Indeed we already read under Louis XI of an entry, that he held in the year 1461 at Paris, of sirens represented by three nude maidens, who received the king, and that the chronicler describes with sufficient naivety. We are indeed sometimes told, that the young nobles delight in playing ball, that it is expressly stated was introduced from Italy.

Another time a Florentine female dancer exhibits her art before Louis XII. Moreover the sense for the higher beauty remains obtuse in the man of the more cultured circles, indeed is absent. Only certain minds like Cominis' have an eye for it in the midst of his diplomatic transactions, this statesman still finds time for observations of all kinds. He describes the houses of Venice with their facing of Istrian marble, porphyry and serpentine; with the splendid furnishing of their rooms, the gilded and painted ceilings, the marble fireplaces decorated by sculptures, the costly beds, rugs and other furniture. He tells us that the ashlar of palace Doge are gilded at the joints for an inch in width, that within the halls is the gleam of gold and colors. He is astonished by the magnificence of the marble of the Certosa of Pavia, the most beautiful church that he ever saw; it is he by whom we obtain information of the artistic undertakings of Charles VIII. But besides him and his successor, it is the minister of Louis XII, cardinal George of Amboise, who deserves merit as the promoter of a new and higher life of culture. Nothing gives so high an idea of his love of art as the magnificent residence that he built at Gaillon, and which he adorned with all magnificence,



although the chateau was not his own property, but was that of the archbishop of Rouen. In the same spirit Julius II and Leo built, except that the art love of the cardinal was disinterested, since by state affairs he was kept far distant, while during the entire period of his government, he could only visit his loved creation a dozen times for a few days each.

### 3. Influence of antique studies.

Louis XI had already invited Greek learned men into his country, who increased the library and began to reorganize the university of Paris. Charles VIII and yet more Louis XII continued these endeavors, and sought in all ways to further the classical studies. The antique studies first caused a revolution in literature, that was however but slowly completed, being at first much restricted by pedantic awkwardness. Most chroniclers still persisted in the naive tone of their plain and undorned narrations; but others strove for the fame of the historian, turned to an artistic representation, struck out more pleasing ways, and began to imitate the antique historians. Ranke strikingly remarks:- "The Italian spirit was incited by the classical models to the imitation of their forms, the German by the study of the language was led back to the documents of the faith and their adoption in spirit; the Frenchman placed himself in contact with the diversity of the contents of the ancient authors, namely directly with the historical. On the form of French literature the ancients then had no special influence."

The best example of this is offered by Jean d'Auton, Louis XII's historiographer and court poet. Even in the preface of his work he states, that as among the Greeks and Romans the pen of a fluent writer and pleasing orator contributed not less to the well-being of the state, than the spear of the bravest warrior, so has he given all toil with ink and paper to make use of public affairs according to his powers. His book is crowded with ancient quotations, that are brought in with much labor, and oddly interrupt the naive tone of the narration. Thus when he compares a storm by the French army to a siege of the underworld to carry off Proserpina and Eurydice; when he contrasts the moderation of the king to the luxury of Sardanapalus; when he compares the fields set on fire

by the enemy with Phaeton's fall to the burning earth; when in mentioning the island of Mitylene he displays a knowledge of Greek traditions and history; but particularly when he allows his heroes to give beautiful conventional orations in the style of Livy. He misuses Latin or rather counterfeits it as follows. (See text).

Elsewhere he has the naive opinion, that it is no wonder that the books of the Greeks, Romans and other barbarous peoples are richer in beautiful words and praiseworthy matters than "ours," which comes from the lack of good stylists. (By the way the Greeks never dreamed of this use of the word barbarous). No less pedantic is the endless lamentation for the death of Tomasina Spinola of Genoa, was so fondly in love with Louis XII, that she actually died after the false news of his death. All Grecian mythology was plundered in her honor, Neptune solemnly gave an address, the judges of the dead, the fates, naiads, dryads and oreads, nereids and satyrs, were invited, and all famous lovers in antiquity were lied under contribution. By such ornate tastelessness, the story of that unlucky skeptic can cause no wonder, that antique mythology had so risen to his head, than in S. Chapelle he received the host from the celebrating priest with the words; "shall this folly continue forever?" Jean d'Auton states angrily that he recognizes only Jupiter and Hercules as gods, denies all laws save natural ones, and even reached the assertion, that the blessed will find no paradise other than the Champs Elysees. The poor knave was accordingly burned with justice, as the chronicler naively adds:— "and he was burnt alive as he desired."

How far the desire went for making allusions to the antique is proved among other things by the diary of Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis I, who with all brevity of those scanty notes still found time to refer to Cesar's Commentaries and to state that by the Romans Ardes was called Ardea and Calais Calatum." The same lady shows us that with these studies were connected notable tendencies to freethinking, which were mixed with wonderful statements of mediaeval superstitions. She is of opinion that in war long paternosters and muttered prayers are out of place, for that is a cumbersome matter, that in battle only fellows used, who do not know what to do. Besides are indeed

numerous traces of a mere superstition.

Thus we find everywhere in this time the same mixture; mediæval opinions breathed on by the spirit of the new time, and in this fermenting process the former is evermore supplanted by the latter; the gloomy scholasticism of the Sorbonne by the free revival of antique literature, the severe discipline of the ancestors' life in castles by the unrestricted companionship of the court, the knightly method in battle by the new conduct of war with infantry and firearms. At all points a new gas enters the spiritual atmosphere; this is still heavy, cloudy and turbid; but it begins to move, to roll up and to divide. Just so externally shall we find the antique forms affixed to Gothic constructions and plans of buildings. The inclination is and continues for a considerable time connected with the mediæval, since but occasionally does a new means of expression slip in.

#### 4. Jean Fouquet.

To the most notable appearances of the transition period belongs the painter Jean Fouquet of Tours. We possess numerous works investigating him, so that here is no need to return to what is generally known. We know that he is designated as "the good painter and illuminator of king Louis XI," and that he ornamented a number of manuscripts by miniatures for that prince and other distinguished persons. Here belongs the French edition of Josephus in the National Library at Paris, probably executed for the duke of Nemours about 1465. Among the 19 pictures therein must 9 be referred to Fouquet's hand. Likewise there is a French Livy also adorned by miniatures by Fouquet. Another Livy with the master's pictures is found in the library of Tours, a Virgil in the library of Dijon with miniatures, that perhaps belong to his school. More important is another work, a prayerbook for Etienne Chevalier, treasurer of Charles VII and of Louis IX, that unfortunately no longer exists as a whole, but of which no less than 40 miniatures are in the possession of F. Brentano la Roche at Frankfort on Main, while two other leaves passed to baron F. de Conches at Paris, and to lady Springle in London.

Another work remaining to us is perhaps the earliest, the French translation of Boccaccio's "House of illustrious men a

and women," now in the court library at Munich. According to a manuscript note the book was finished by the writer on Nov. 24 of 1453, when the work of the master directly followed. Fouquet stands in these creations not merely as one of the most eminent miniaturists of all times, but he unites in his art the advantages of the Flemish painting of the time with the attainments of his Italian contemporaries. The Flemish realism in the accurate representation of the reality, the entirely individual forms, the rich costumes of the time, the perspective graduated landscapes and architectural backgrounds are combined with that sense for rhythmic development of the composition, such as the contemporary Italian art had developed, particularly the Flemish school. Much recalls the mild grace of Fra Angelico, particularly the noble style of the clothing, the expressions of the heads and the coloring mostly executed in a scale of light tones. But most striking is it, that Fouquet in his works besides the usually occurring Gothic buildings, such as his native land offered him at every step, the forms of the Renaissance are employed with greater preference, indeed not in a naive mixture with mediæval elements, such as were common in the entire North until late in the 16th century, but often in entirely pure and a striking manner, producing an understanding, so that one must say that Fouquet preceded by more than two ages of a man all other northern artists of the entire Renaissance in this respect. We consider that about the middle of the 15th century several famous Flemish artists remained a long time in Italy, and not the slightest influence of the art of the South can be traced, so that the appearance of Fouquet is only more remarkable. Without question the artist, who may have been born between 1415 and 1420 in Tours, must have remained a long time in Italy. Vasari states in his life of Filarete, that he caused to be painted by a very distinguished painter G. Focchata (corrupted into Foccora in the second column), the portrait of Pope Eugenius IV for S. Maria sopra Minerva. Filarete himself also states this fact, but where he corrupts the name of the painter to G. Francioso. This must have occurred in the year 1448, when Eugenius IV returned to the papal chair after his expulsion by the Romans. To the same picture refers the Italian humanist F. Florio, who

about 1477 in a letter from Tours to his friend J. Tarlato elevates J. Fochettus above all painters in the world, even before Polygnotus and Apelles, and especially cannot praise sufficiently his paintings in the church of Notre Dame la riche furnished by Louis IX. After 1461 Fouquet then appears in the documents as an eminent master much employed for the French at his native place, where he must have died about 1480.

For our consideration it is of value to determine in what surroundings the master made the forms of the Italian Renaissance his own. Let us first examine the Munich Boccacio, that by its splendor, its execution and the richness of its illustrations assumes a high rank. Among the 94 pictures is prominent by size and beauty the title page 9.65 ins. wide and 13.53 ins. high, that represents the sitting of a court. Charles VII is himself enthroned in his parlement, surrounded by the great dignitaries of the crown, while the procurator general reads the accusation, and in the foreground armed guards seek to keep back the people pressing forward. The page with about 300 figures excels not only on size and richness, but also in the delicacy of execution, sharpness of characteristics and harmonious splendor of colors. Besides this show piece is also a number of other pictures to be referred to Fouquet himself, particularly the great representations which precede the different Chapters. Especially attractive is the scene repeated several times with variations, where Boccacio is seated at the writing desk, and in a dense gathering of famous men and women that approach him, as if they would hear him narrate their stories. The seat with its canopy is Gothic, likewise the enclosing arch, but the surfaces of the spandrels are ornamented by antique medallion heads, and the termination shows Renaissance forms with volutes and the acanthus. For the last time appears the hand of the master on page 122. The greater number of the smaller illustrations in particular were distributed to two assistants, one of whom sought to approximate to the master, while the other by dead coloring and weaker drawing seems considerably inferior. For what concerns the architectural forms employed, there appear among the Gothic quite frequently the Renaissance forms; There are not lacking round temples with domes, antique port-

portals and Corinthian pilasters; sometimes occur Roman triumphal arches with all sorts of little variations, whereby the knowledge of Roman triumphal arches is undeniable. Where the view in an apartment is given, the border of the picture as a rule consists of fluted Corinthian or Composite pilasters.

Meanwhile if everywhere here the architectural accessories are rather modest, this assumes an incomparably higher importance in the leaves at Frankfort, which according to the often repeated inscribed evidence are from the prayer book executed for "Master Estienne Chevalier." As this work is incontestably denotes the climax of the artistic undertakings of Fouquet, he shows himself also in understanding and employing the architectural world of form as a man, that had fully made his own the great innovations of Italian art. Already therefore this work must be designated as more mature and also the later. The artist knows with full understanding how to represent the sights of his native city; he sometimes also employs Gothic forms for the general architecture of his compositions, since the Annunciation occurs in a Gothic choir, where the Madonna has placed herself on a rug with a great prayer book, as if at home. In another case, he has mixed both architectural styles in the most naive manner, thus in the veneration of the Madonna (Fig. 1), where she is enthroned in a rich recess like a portal, whose filling shows the shell motive of the Renaissance. Still more striking is the facing of the wall directly adjoining the portal in the background by its fluted Corinthian pilasters and a continuous antique entablature. Likewise the nude boys standing thereon hold medallions and support festoons of fruits on their shoulders, that are elements of the Renaissance and singularly contrast with the clothed angel boys sometimes occurring on other leaves, and that by the diaconal garment are recognized as children of the middle ages.

Where the architect desires to develop the most solemn magnificence, as on the noble title page, where the founder is recommended by his protecting patron S. Stephen and is accompanied by musical angels and kneels before the Madonna, there does the Renaissance come into full expression by fluted Corinthian pilasters, splendid panels on the walls, rich antique cornices with cupids holding festoons. But characteristically

enough the Madonna is enthroned in a Gothic niche, so that indeed was chosen a form of mystic pomp for the queen of heaven. At the meeting of Mary and of Elisabeth is seen at the side an altar structure beneath a canopy supported by Composite columns, whose entablature and mouldings follow the Ionic order. In the charming scene in which the Apostles were blessed at the beginning of their wanderings (Fig. 2), there again a wall closes the background with marble paneling and is subdivided by fluted Corinthian pilasters, terminated by a magnificent antique entablature and cornice with ox skulls and garlands of fruits. On the cornice are seen droll nude winged boys in pairs supporting heraldic shields and swing laurel branches. But the fountain that occupies the middle and sprays with its streams of water those kneeling shows Gothic forms.

Again exclusively appears the antique in the highest splendor in the betrothal of Mary and Joseph, for a triply arched triumphal arch forms the background, imitated from Roman models even to the rich reliefs, the keystone adorned by sculptures, the soaring victories in the spandrels and coffers of the arched doorway. But remarkably this masterpiece of architecture that bears the inscription, temple of Solomon, is decorated by two Composite columns with twisted shafts, and in horizontal bands alternately are covered by spiral flutes and scenes of all kinds in relief. Where the artist borrowed these aspects that here appear for the first time, and then reappear in Raphael's cartoons for tapestries, to finally be transferred in the greatest monumental dimensions to the colossal canopy in St. Peter's, we know not. But what characterizes the entire Renaissance forms of Fouquet is the fact, that they do not come from the overloaded decorative schools of upper Italy, whence the German masters of Nuremberg and Augsburg derived their views, but from the more severe Florentine conceptions. Brunellesco, Masaccio, Fra Angelico, are the models of our master; particularly the mural paintings of the latter are furnished with backgrounds of a similar kind, where the fluted Corinthian pilaster plays a great part. That Fouquet with his tendency toward antique forms remained alone for half a century we shall see later.

##### 5. Book illustrations.

### 5. Book illustrations.

Later than the remarkable creations of Fouquet, but yet earlier than the monumental appearance of the Renaissance in France are the works of printing, so far as they relate to the artistic treatment of books. We have not here to record that effluence of abundant imagination, that intellectual force and manifold gift of imagination, which Germany presents in this epoch. With us it was the victory of the Reformation, that produced a popular literature of inconceivable richness, and thereby a joy in artistic treatment, which by the activity of masters like Burgkmaier, Holbein, Kranach and others experienced the greatest advancement. In France, where the Reformation was soon suppressed, literature much rather remained in the possession of the higher circles, and it was first the court, especially of Francis I, the "father of letters," that aided this tendency. Only very slowly did it break a path for itself, and much longer than in Germany the Gothic types continued in use in printing, since especially in civic circles did men adhere with greater tenacity to the national style of Gothic. Then by the connections with Italy, by the campaigns of Charles VIII and of Louis XII, the influence of the art of the South made itself felt, but finally Francis I became interested in the inspiration of the new arts, and also the typography must leave the old worn tracks and enter new paths.

This now first occurred in the manner, that the printers of books simply caused to be copied the ornaments, borders, vignettes, ornamental letters and the like for the decoration of their products, so that until the twenties of the 16th century such borrowed ornamental work is found in French books. Therefore resulted also for the succeeding time a tolerably close adherence to Italian forms, and rather to relief than to the picturesque treatment of the Italian illustrations. Francis I in his enthusiasm for the sciences and arts, caused an upward flight by his introduction of French typography. He confirmed the freedom from taxes conferred by his predecessors on printers and dealers in books, created the court printing establishment, and gave privileges against pirating, cared for the improvement of the typography, while he aided the undertakings of G. Tory, S. de Colinis, R. Etienne, C. Neobar and



others. Certainly he allowed himself to forbid the printing of books in 1534, for fear of the increase of the Reformation, and in 1550 the learned R. Estienne must flee to Geneva, because he adhered to the new teaching; but this could scarcely temporarily restrict the development of typography, that until the end of the 16th century always produced works worthy of consideration.

It is and remains characteristic for the French illustration, that like the entire art of France it remains chiefly under the influence of the court. Thereby it acquires the tendency toward the refined elegance, and in this respect recalls the miniature painting of the middle ages, that for the same reasons in France probably strove for the charm of form. It is further worthy of consideration, that once the printing establishments of Paris and of Lyons obtained an independent importance in their typographical undertakings; but so splendid were also their products, so undeniably in these works did the French manifest their refined taste, that still France did not present the picture of inexhaustibly rich variety, as did Germany, though in its entire character much dryer, where in numerous greater and lesser cities prevailed a surprisingly active competition in the typographical work. We also find the same tendencies here, that differ in all other arts and continue in both countries.

Among the French prints from the end of the 15th century, the most numerous are the prayer books known under the name of "Hours", ever again reprinted anew, whose bulkiness gives the clearest proof of the firm adherence to the traditions of the Church. The first prints of this kind, that of S. Vestre of the year 1486 and those of P. Pigouchet and A. Vorard in the two succeeding years still bear in their types as well as in their ornaments an entirely Gothic character. No breath of the art style is to be traced, and the ornamentation treated in the late mediæval form is executed by hand painting, so that these small books at the first glance make the impression of manuscripts with miniatures. This character still prevails in the Hours that J. de Bris published in 1510. Likewise here is almost entirely the stamp of the middle ages, the Gothic script, painted initials and pictures, the latter showing them-

themselves in the coarse-grained style of the later period of 15th century. But already commences the Renaissance to penetrate though timidly, for at the outpouring of the Holy Spirit the throne of the Madonna and the surrounding portico exhibit the indeed quite dry and little understood forms of the new style. In the nearly contemporary Hours of G. Hardouyn still prevails substantially the same condition; Gothic script and richly painted late mediaeval ornaments. But the larger pictures are enclosed in poorly understood Renaissance borders, where beside pilasters wreaths of flowers hang from the entablature, and this being drawn with remarkable insipidity and dryness. But also elsewhere is striking the architectural in Renaissance forms; thus at the death of Maria and at the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at the throne of the Madonna; on the contrary are the separate sides everywhere enclosed by mediaeval foliage ornament. In another edition of the Hours, that bears the name of the same publisher, now abruptly appears the antique script and changes at a stroke the entire appearance of the book. The size is much smaller than that first described and also the quite unimportant pictures show a smaller size. But the border is exactly the same with the dry pilasters like Doric, entablature and wreath of flowers. Here is also recognized the contest of the new and old times, the notable fermentation in both world phenomena, which they oppose to each other.

Extremely remarkable are the particular discourses composed by P. Gringoire in 1528. In spite of the preceding time the little book still bears the predominant mediaeval character, and especially is printed in Gothic letters. On the contrary, the initials are antique, yet the ground is filled by Gothic foliage. The pictures are dry with simple yet bold shading, many are well drawn and animated, yet in general of very varied worth. There is nowhere a suggestion of an ornamental enclosure. In the following year (1529) appeared "Champfleury, in which is contained the art and science of the due and true proportion of the Attic letters, otherwise antique and commonly Roman letters proportioned according to the human body and face. At Paris by master G. Tory of Bourges, publisher and author of the said book with Gourmont, also publisher." Here we meet with the great endeavor of the Renaissance period to adv-

advance everywhere to the last grounds, to refer everything to scientific laws, opposed to an important attempt to draw the newly recovered antique script in the proportions of the human figure and face, obtaining fixed bases. The book is finely prepared, especially adorned by a charming leaf alphabet on a light ground. Strikingly dry is the title page, trifling in drawing and engraving, but it bears an elegant printer's mark, a narcissus blooming in an antique vase. The final vignette shows the same mark, but enclosed by an extremely beautiful garland of fruits only drawn in outline with the greatest elegance. In the preface where also is cited the well known friend of books, J. Grolier, the author indulges in notes on the changes and the decay of the French language; "for the greatest part the French language will be changed and perverted. The language of this time is altered in a thousand ways from the language that was here about fifty years since. The author of the book of chess said in his time 'neut plus' and we say 'non plus.' He said 'bien est voir', and we say 'bien est vray'".

In this work there is found for the time the great reformer of French printing, G. Tory, who is a friend of the famous printer S. de Colines, also sometimes as a printer himself not merely in the antique script, but also in the entire ornamental treatment, brought the spirit of the Renaissance into authority (d. 1533). His spirited vignettes, the graceful flower alphabet (Fig. 4), the head bands of the Title page (Fig. 3) introduce at a stroke the entire charm of the Renaissance into book ornamentation and give for a long time the prevailing stamp to French illustration. Besides him is principally Oronce Fine to be named, who likewise starts from the Italian Renaissance, but in certain forms follows old native traditions, and first strikes a somewhat bolder tone (Fig. 5). Besides these chief masters is also to be named S. Bernard (the little Bernard), who after the end of the fortieth year supplied for the printing of books at Lyons a multitude of the most graceful works, richly ornamented alphabets, borders, vignettes and the like, but moreover he also drew precious Bible pictures, that in the smallest space, like the famous works of Holbein, indeed inspired the masters to develop the greatest vivacity. French illustration attains its climax in

the works of this great master. In his path then proceed the monogramists C. B., P. V., and G. L. These tendencies determine for a long time the character of the French illustration of books, until in the second half of the 16th century the cartouche work appears with its dryer forms. Between them the ornamentation of the school of Fontainebleau influences by its Italian "grotesques", that in general is determinative for the French Renaissance.

To the most graceful creations of French illustration belongs the *Hecatomgraphie* of G. Carrozet, that appeared by D. Janot in Paris in 1548. The little book in *Sedez* is printed in beautiful antique script, the left sides being adorned by little ornamental pictures, masks and little ornamental pictures in the noblest style of the early Renaissance, the whole with a precious charm in its distribution of the space. The title page contains a frontispiece, whose Composite pilaster shows border and foliage, and that is covered by a pretty little pediment.

By the same publisher appeared a few years earlier (1539) the *Theatre of good Machines* by G. de la Perriere, likewise in *Sedez*, with antique script but cursive, the whole likewise very elegant, if not so ornamental as the book previously mentioned. The title page is here more richly treated, the pilasters are Doric, but with projecting little baluster columns, whose shafts are wound with vines. The upper termination of the arch is filled by volutes and foliage, and below is seen a pair of lovers in a garden. The little historical pictures are at the left side, the explanatory verses at the right. The former have all four different bands as in the before mentioned book, while the latter has simpler enclosures and also shows four different patterns. In both works only certain initials are employed.

To the most important products of the early time then belongs the *Protomathesis of Orance Fine* of the year 1532. The title page exhibits a magnificent frontispiece, somewhat dry in drawing and boldly shaded, enclosed by Renaissance pilasters with foliage capitals and sirens, with freely projecting candelabras, little columns with ragged foliage and dolphins, fanciful crowning with scrolls, cupids and salamanders, the last refer-

referring to Francis I to whom the work is dedicated. In the tympanum if the arch is Hercules in the combat with the hydra. Likewise the dedicatory page is adorned by rich scrolls with sirens, salamanders and baluster columns. Of unusual magnificence are the alphabets frequently employed as initials (Fig. 6), partly very large with noble foliage, black on white ground, others with charming little figures in a great O is the portrait of the artist. Also the head bands are charming, which show geometrical instruments, compasses, protactors and quadrants in pretty leaf scrolls.

About the middle of the century was completed the transformation of the style. This shows itself already in J. C. Maire's illustrations of Gard, that appeared from J. de Tournes in Lyons in 1549. The title page is already entirely treated in the dry and stiff cartouche style with its rolled bands and scrolls, and it exhibits also the completely changed taste in the figures, caryatids, fettered atlantes with buck feet, squat satyrs and the like. Magnificent are the initials, some very large and particularly beautiful with foliage on a dotted ground, others with leaf ornaments of all sorts of little figures likewise on dotted or drarkly shaded ground, all this in the best style of the early Renaissance, so that in the same works are found two modes of decoration. Also handsome head bands and vignettes adorn the splendidly treated book. We find the same new cartouche style in the great folio volume on the evangelists, which appeared in Paris in 1552. The title page exhibits a luxuriant cartouche work with masks and festoons of fruits, and those fanciful forms of satyrs with plaited serpents' tails instead of feet, such as were a favorite henceforth in the French Renaissance. The ornamental initials are mostly on a light ground, that is interwoven with Moorish ornaments, such as often come into use henceforth. (Fig. 8).

In contrast thereto certain products of the press of the time adhere firmly for the same time to the modest and charming ornamentation of the earlier epoch. Thus particularly the ornamental little illustrated edition of Biblical stories by the so-called little Bernard, as in French, German, Dutch, Italian and even Spanish text, it passed into the entire world after the fiftieth year from Lyons for several decades. The

charming little pictures indeed betray the mannerism of the time in the elongated figures, but the title pages with their fine scroll work still belong to the early Renaissance. The greatest variety and beauty are found in the Metarmoses of Ovid likewise illustrated by Bernard and published in 1557 by J. de Tournes. Here also appears Moorish foliage ornament from the damascening of weapons, already on the titles used in the most charming manner, sometimes white ornaments on black ground, a sometimes the converse. There further prevails in the rich border designs, that enclose each side, the varied world of nermes, mascarons and the like in the style of the school of Fontainebleau (Figs. 9, 10).

In a splendid manner comes into use the style developed by the great architects about the middle of the century, in the folio volume of 1549, that represents the entry of Henry II into Paris. The title page is already kept entirely in the cartouche style; but especially the triumphal arches and other magnificent decorations give to the opinions of the time now entirely dominated by the antique. No less than five such gateways, some with one and some with three doorways, give the different shadows of the antique architecture from the simple Doric to the richest Corinthian style. Particularly worthy of consideration is the bridge of Notre Dame, with its superstructure treated as a leafy vault, where sirens support the ribs of the vault consisting of garlands. Above the last richly adorned triumphal arch, before which are placed on pedestals four strongly animated equestrian groups, rises a hall "in the French mode furnished with glass windows."

To these works add the productions of the greatest art theorists of the time, among which J. Cousin occupies a prominent rank. In his Perspective that appeared in Paris in 1560, the title page (Fig. 11) already shows a composition in the most elegant cartouche work with charming figures of the most fanciful kind, fauns, sirens and the like. Two nude women at the top hold the royal crown, which is flanked by genii with butterfly wings. It is one of the most beautiful and elegant creations of the time. On the first leaf of almost double size, that is here folded in, are seen within a dryly drawn cartouche border "the five regular parts of geometry and certain persons

foreshortened according to that art;" the figures being in a bold style like Michelangelo's and foreshortened in a masterly way. Further one of the most beautiful and largest alphabets adorns this book, white letters on a plain ground surrounded by charmingly drawn soaring, squatting and tumbling little figures in which the master applies his art to foreshortening; besides fillings of noble foliage; other letters with little animal figures and the most beautiful scroll ornaments. Similarly are treated the head bands with fanciful figures of every kind, with cornucopias, foliage and scroll work.

That then the publications of the great architects of the time exhibit the same artistic character in their production scarcely requires mention. So for the the General Rules of Architecture of J. Bullant, Paris, 1364. The title page shows a rich cartouch border with strongly animated figures, atlantes and caryatids, genii and masks. Noble are the great initials, white on plain ground with flowers and branches with leaves, among them some figures. Likewise are the head bands with strikingly drawn figures and leaf ornaments; the whole of distinguished magnificence. Somewhat simpler, but likewise valuable is the folio volume of du Cerceau's Architecture that appeared at Paris in 1559. The stately initials are white on plain ground, richly ornamented by little fanciful figures, drawn somewhat dry and awkward and engraved in the same manner. Finer again is produced the work of Serlio, that appeared in Lyons in 1560. The title page has garlands of fruits and cartouches, the latter however very moderate, but animated by satyrs, masks and genii in the taste of the time. Very rich is the decoration by ornamental initials, among which are found three different alphabets. The first is very large and has black letters on a light ground, interspersed with flowers and buds. The second shows white letters on a dotted ground with very beautiful leaf scrolls in the character of the early Renaissance. The third is somewhat smaller and places its black letters on a ground animated by Moorish foliage. In it is seen, how for the ornamentation of the letters are employed all motives of the ornament of the time.

These few examples will suffice to indicate the character and the development of the French illustration of books.

## 6. King Rene of Anjou.

### 6. King Rene of Anjou.

Among the earliest promoters of the Renaissance in France a place of honor is due to the "good" king Rene. The personality of this art-loving prince, to all appearance a dilettante also in painting, is the most vivid expression of the repeatedly crossing artistic currents of that time. For in his buildings yet entirely belonging to the middle ages, he inclines in painting to the Flemish school of van Eyck, while his works in relief betray an Italian origin. Of the entirely Gothic character of his buildings the little Tarascon gives a view. The desolate and poor place, that is only noticeable to the traveler for the gigantic masses of his old castle rising on the bank of the Rhone, was once the residence city of the "good" king Rene. But of the gay life at his court friendly to the muses, the gloomy walls and towers of the castle built by him afford no conception. Nowhere do the windowless walls, lying in the gayest landscape as if blind, afford a view of the nobility of the natural surroundings, and the battlements of their threatening machicolations complete the impression of a time, that was still deeply buried in the feudalism of the middle ages with its lawlessness and love of war. First in the narrow court of the building now serving as a prison is expressed in the wide round-arched portico and the graceful winding stairs the harmony of household comfort, and from the platform of the roof the eye sweeps enchanted over the lovely landscape, through which flows the proud river afar.

Certainly his life was determined by his alternating fates in apparently opposed tendencies. Born at Angers in the year 1409 as the second son of Duke Louis of Anjou and his wife Yolande, daughter of king John of Arragon, he inherited from his grandfather the reversion of the throne of Naples, while by his wife Isabella, daughter of Charles I of Lorraine, he had claims on that duchy. When he sought to enforce them, he was taken prisoner, and with a brief interruption was interned in Dijon from 1431 to 1437. Doubtless there at the magnificent Burgundian court he learned to know and to prize Flemish painting, excelling all other contemporary art works of the time by its astonishing truth to life. When he then betook himself to Naples in 1438 to 1442, in order to enforce by arms his



claims to the throne of Naples, he could not prevail against Alfonso of Arragon, and then returned to Provence, in order to devote himself to more congenial and peaceful endeavors in art and poetry until his death in 1430.

In Italy where the early Renaissance was then in its first bloom, he had won a taste for its refined creations, and had also formed relations with the most famous humanists. Thus with F. Filelfo, A. Marcollo, who sent him a translation of Strabo by Guarino of Verona, with Maggio and L. Vallar. His connection with the Italian artists is evidenced first by several medals, and especially by that magnificent example that in 1462 he caused to be made by Pietro of Milan (designated as the work of Peter of Milan). It shows on the obverse the characteristically treated portrait of the good king and his wife Jean de Laval, on the reverse a ceremony filled by figures with a building like a temple in the background, where is seen the king enthroned, perhaps in a court of judgment.. Besides we find medals of the king by F. Laurana, perhaps a relative of the well known L. Laurana, who in 1488 supervised the erection of the palace of Urbino. Laurana also represented king Louis XI of France, and we also find by him a medal of duke John of Calabria, the son of king Rene. On the reverse of it is seen an antique circular temple surrounded by Corinthian columns, on whose domed roof stands the archangel Michael with spear and shield. Thus are also here works of the minor arts, in which the new style was first expressed; so was it at all times among the ancestors of the Greeks, that in the works of the goldsmith first learned to know oriental art, thus in the early middle ages, when the Byzantine style penetrated into the West by carved ivories, by manuscripts and the works of jewellers. The same Laurana, who with his colleague Peter of Milan lived at the court of king Rene, then had to represent even the court fool Triboulet with his fool's truncheon on his shoulder on a medal, on the back of which was a crouching lion, but which rather resembles a poodle.

More important for us is a medal by the same artist of the year 1466, which represents the senechal of Provence, J de Cosse. This distinguished official is known to us namely by the tomb remaining unregarded by even French investigators,

that we found to our great surprise in the cathedral of Tarascon. A few steps from the royal castle described above, that still bears the stamp of a gloomy mediaeval fortress, rises as a no less important building of the Romanesque period this church promising little externally. The more profitable is the interior. At the west end of the church one descends to a lower church, that contains the tomb of S. Martha, highly venerated there. At the entrance to this crypt stands at the right a magnificent tomb of the Renaissance. An inscription in beautiful uncial letters informs us, that in the year 1476 king Rene caused this tomb to be erected for his worthy and esteemed faithful servant J. de Cossa, who at the desire of the king left his native land to follow him. Peacefully rests the noble form of the seneschal in prayer with folded hands on a simple sarcophagus. His feet rest on a dog, symbol of fidelity, that elsewhere on mediaeval monuments is less often given to men than to women. Fine Corinthian pilasters are covered by graceful ornaments and enclose the whole, above arise two genii with garlands of flowers, support the shield of the knight, on which they sadly lean. The noble monument is entirely inspired by the refined spirit of the early Renaissance, and since it is indeed the earliest monument of the new style on French soil and extends back to a time, when scarcely a native artist already knew how to dominate the classical world of form, it must certainly be attributed to an Italian. It is indeed <sup>not</sup> too venturesome to denote Laurana as the author of this work. We are the more justified in this, since also several monuments on French soil are to be attributed to this artist. Thus before in the cathedral of Le Mans is the tomb of Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, brother of king Rene, that died in 1472. Executed in black and white marbles, it shows on a sarcophagus in the noble forms of Italian early Renaissance, that truly classical treatment of the form of the deceased lying there extended in armor, full of quiet nobility, with hands crossed over each other, feet resting against the helmet for tournaments, an image of deep slumber. Fully in the spirit of the Renaissance are the nude genii, only clad in floating scarfs, that bear the inscriptions. We read: "Here is Charles, count of Maine, who died April 10, 1472. Another work attributed to the same artist is an altar in the

church S. Didier at Avignon, with a great relief of Christ bearing the cross. If this work actually belongs to the same master, then in the rude realism, the dry mode of expression, the types and costumes, he has transferred to it the influence of the contemporary northern art. But characteristic for the Italians are the buildings in the background with their fluted Doric and Corinthian orders of pilasters, between which open loggias filled with spectators. This architecture would scarcely have been brought into this condition by a French architect.

We also elsewhere find Rene as a promoter of the arts and venerator of classical antiquity. In his art collection was seen a number of antique cameos, which he had obtained from Rome, and with them were Venetian glasses, and among his paintings was found one, in which Paris, Venus and "other things" were represented. Sufficiently a just title to assign a good king Rene a place among the promoters of the Renaissance.

#### 7. Intellectual tendency of Francis I.

This mixture lends a special charm to the entire epoch and comes to the highest development in the long and splendid reign of Francis I (1515 - 1547). The king himself is the most complete expression of his time. Likewise he and his feelings were rooted in the world of the middle ages; a stately bearing, knightly character, personally brave to rashness, a mighty hunter, who built hunting lodges everywhere in the wild forests, and also loved in hunting to risk his life boldly in the sport; no less to devote himself to all knightly exercises, particularly to the pleasure of the tournament. Even the inclination for court fools must we place to this account. But therewith in his richly arranged nature is no less strongly expressed the spirit of the new time. First of all stands his thirst for knowledge, his sense of learning and literature, his opposition to the restricted papistry of the Sorbonne. Distinguished learned men were invited into his country, he even sought to induce Erasmus to prepare a place for free knowledge in opposition to the scholasticism of the university. His clear spiritual perception allowed him in the beginning, before fanatical excesses stopped him, made him consider the Reformation with sympathy, read Luther's writings, and free Louis le Barquin, the most zealous of the reformers from an ecclesiastical

prison. A second time the power of the king was unable to protect the bold man, who was condemned by the Sorbonne and burnt on Place de Grève to the great enjoyment of the bigoted people of Paris.

The king took an animated part in classical studies and the development of literature. Antiquarians and poets, learned men of all kinds, especially professors of the ancient languages were invited to his court by him, he gave them liberal salaries, and what was more, personally took part in their labors. Since he was himself not strong in the ancient languages, he caused to be made translations of the classics, and thereby promoted in a thorough manner the culture of his people. Indeed his example first only affected the direct surroundings, while in the mass of the nation the mediaeval taste long retained the supremacy also in literary matters. Yet the path was broken in the most influential place, and the favorable results could not fail in future. The new spirit banished evermore the gloomy superstition of the middle ages. The king himself was a living example of this mixed tendency. Without hesitation he removed the silver grating from the tomb of S. Martin in Tours, that the bigoted Louis XI had given, and despite the objections of the clergy, coined it into money. Another time, he was seen in Paris to replace the figure of the Madonna in stone destroyed by riotous hands by one of massive silver, and at the head of his court under the lead of the clergy in solemn procession he replaced it.

Besides that earnest tendency of his spirit, there makes itself felt the natural tendency of the king in his love of the gayer enjoyments of life. His court was the centre of all, which was magnificent, intellectual and prominent. Previously the world of ladies was scarcely allowed at the court, and first the queen Anne of Brittany had brought ladies to the court in a limited way. As Brantôme states, Francis I first gave the court its true ornament, when he gathered around himself the most beautiful and amiable ladies in a great multitude. A court without ladies, said the gallant king, is a year without a spring, a spring without roses, or Brantôme adds, a garden without flowers, and according to the naive expression of the latter, is rather like that of an oriental satrap or

Turk than of a Christian king. Meantime every sort of intrigue entered with the world of ladies, and if we assume that only a twentieth part of the tales are true, the royal court in the time of Francis I, to employ an expression of the same writer, "was sufficiently corrupt." In any case in the plan of the royal chateaus, with the numerous anterooms, the many concealed stairs and isolated living rooms, we find the reflection of this court life permeated by love intrigues is recognized. No less do the tales of Margaret of Savoy, sister of the king, give a picture of the wanton tone then prevailing.

Under the influence of such ladies the rule was developed of the love of the king for magnificence in the highest degree. He himself adhered to a rich dress with costly ornaments, as the portraits of the time show him to us; and it is characteristic, that even in the subordinate matter of external appearance, in short clipped hair and well cared for full beard, the king followed the new time and the Italian fashion, while the citizens and the parliament in old sobriety long held to the earlier costume, even the hair covering half the forehead and with smooth chin, so that in this the people sharply differed from the court. It is characteristic, since P. Lescot was rejected as a canon of Notre Dame by the chapter on account of his beard, and an earnest consideration by the entire chapter was required to admit him with a beard, since he proved that he must wear it on account of his position at the court.

Noblest appear to us the love of splendor of the king in his artistic undertakings, opposed to the numerous chateaus built by him and their costly furnishings. The beautiful hangings, that Brantome praises as masterpieces of Flemish art, have vanished with so many others, but much remains and will be considered later. From B. Cellini's autobiography, how many-sided was the endeavor of the king to surround himself with luxury embellished artistically. Not merely the orders for costly furniture and services belong here, the golden salt dish, the silver vases and the like; not merely the colossal fountains intended for Fontainebleau, but even the stamps for the coins of his kingdom allowed the king to make new inventions by means of B. Cellini. But most astonishing are the 12 colossal silver statues of gods and goddesses, that were to be placed as cand-

candlesticks around the royal table. That joy had the king in his artistic undertakings, we see among other things in a report of the English ambassador Wallop of Nov. 17, 1540, to Henry VIII. He tells how the king was told of the English royal residences at Windsor, Hampton Court and Richmond, and then made the remark, that he had heard that especially on the ceilings was used very much gold, while he preferred costly woods for his ceilings and only permitted a little gold to be used; he held this to be both richer and more durable. The king then led the ambassador through the chateau of Fontainebleau, showed him the rooms with their magnificent furniture, the sleeping chamber with its costly wall tapestries, whose material the ambassador must test by handling, ascending a bench by the aid of the king, but first of all the great gallery, where the noble carved wooden ceiling and the antique statues placed between the windows was a great surprise. If finally we add thereto, that the flourishing condition of the nation, promoted by the intelligent administration of the king, was in spite of his expenditures left to his successor a full treasury and well arranged finances, favored this fresh aspiration, which the entire epoch allowed to appear in an amiable light.

### 3. Revolution in the literature.

The influence of the classical authors on French literature makes itself notable in an increasing degree during the reign of Francis I. For those works to be proper, one must conceive into what tasteless frivolities in rhymes and words French poetry had previously fallen. The artificial and bad rhyming of single, double and even triple leonine verses, the acrostics, the final rhymes repeated as echoes, the poems with sonorous words begin with the same letter, in brief all these sports with form and meaning lost their importance. On the contrary across such poets as Marot, indeed less fortunate in imitating Ovid and Propertius, naive and charming, gay and witty in his smaller poems, the tales, madrigals and epigrams. Likewise by Francis I we still possess a number of poems full of true invention and natural expression. The literary activity of his sister has already been considered. Less attractive is St. Gelais, "the French Ovid," whose stretched verses breathe that frigid nature, in which the French later found their classical

style. It is remarkable with what zeal the poets of that time themselves sought to imitate the antique verse measures, when they made dactylic and spondaic verses, alcaic and sapphic odes. Unfortunate attempts, contrary to the spirit of the French language and yet with an influence on a smoother treatment of it. Other poets imitate in Latin the ancients like Macrin, "the modern Horace," still without favorable results. Likewise the court turned to the domain of the drama, and the circle connected with it rejected the dry mediæval farces and mysteries, to which the people still adhered with regret. Lazare de Baif translated the *Electra* of Sophocles and the *Hecuba* of Euripides, thereby founding the French theatre. But the celebrated poet of that time is the stiff and cold Ronsard, by whose insipid hymns and odes, watery sonnets and madrigals, however contemporaries were charmed to the highest degree. Brantome, who gives him splendid praise, esteems the earnest and skillful sentences of his works, a proof how quickly the French passed to that hollow rhetorical pathos, that dominates the character of their classical poetry.

With other poets the poetry attains deeper merit. The Huguenot Du Bartas, the patriarch of Protestant poetry, as termed by Ranke, gives us in his "Week of Creation" a poem of religious meaning, that he seizes with such warmth, that we must term him the precursor of Milton. But the intellectually animated character of the French nation is most sharply expressed in M. Montaigne, the first entirely free representative of the modern spirit. Besides their acts the deep learning of Scaliger, Muret and Lambin, as well as of both Etiennees, those most learned printers of books. Likewise jurisprudence and medicine were renewed by reference to the ancients, and even the matter of Church Reformation wins ground everywhere in spite of the fanatical persecutions of the Sorbonne. But since in the nation besides all these innovations, adherence to the ancients ever struck its roots, as proved by the continually repeated editions of the mediæval poems of Amadis of Gaul, Lancelot of the Lake, Tristan, Huon of Bordeaux, Godfrey of Bouillon, Don Flores of Greece and others, that still in the seventies and eighties of the century were repeatedly made, and issued by the printers of Paris and of Lyons. And nearly just as long shall

we find, that the reminiscences of Gothic architecture remain in force.

#### 9. Rabelais and the Abbey of the Thelémites.

The most prominent representative of two views of the world, which makes this epoch so attractive as a transition epoch, is Master F. Rabelais. Irregular in form, fantastically complicated, as if it were entirely spun from mediæval poetry, in its grotesque overloaded forms and stories surpassing the adventures of knightly romance in dry persiflage, he belongs by his biting satire, his bold humor, entirely to the modern spirit. How he scourges the ignorance and zealotism of the Papacy, the depravity of the monks, the arrogant pretensions of the learned, how he holds all follies of the time up before the mirror! His book is like a mediæval building, twisted and full of mystery, overloaded by burlesque caricatures, bristling with all sorts of points and excrescences, but attractive just on account of this picturesque irregularity, indeed even fascinating, since this entire infinitely rich composition owes its execution to the satirical mockery of a superior intellect.

But to us he has a special importance by the description of that poetical abbey of the Thelémites, in which is completely expressed the architectural ideal of the epoch of Francis I. We give the passage according to the translation of Regis. "The form of the building was hexagonal, so shaped that a thick round tower came to stand at each angle, averaging 60 paces in diameter, and all were alike in size and perimeter. On the side toward midnight ran the river Loire<sup>n</sup> whose bank stood one of the towers. 812 paces was the distance from one tower to another; all were built to six stories, including the cellar in the ground. The first story was vaulted in oval form, the others being covered by Flanders gypsum in the form of a cloister vault. The roof of lime slates with lead ridges full of little figures of animals and of men, well arranged and gilded, as also the rain leaders that sprung from the walls between the window arches, painted diagonally with gold and azure down to the ground level, where they ran into large pipes, that ran beneath the building and ended in the river.

The building itself was a thousand times more magnificent than either Bonnavet, Chambord or even Chantilly, for there



were therein 9,332 apartments, each furnished with rear chamber, closet, oratory, wardrobe, and exit into a great hall. Between each tower in the middle of the wall of that building was a winding stairway broken through the house, its steps partly of porphyry, partly of Numidian stone, and partly serpentine. At every landing, were two antique arches, through which came the daylight, and through it into the open room of like dimensions as the stairway, then rose farther to above the roof, since it ended in a pavilion in the light. On all sides one went from this winding stairs into a great hall, and from this hall into the apartments and rooms. At the middle was a wonderful winding stairway, to which one passed from the exterior through an arch six fathoms wide, and of such dimensions and proportions, that six riders with spears in rest could ride up it to the roof of the entire building. Between the towers Anatole and Mesembrine were beautiful spacious galleries painted with real ancient deeds of heroes, tales and descriptions of the earth."

"In the midst of the court was a noble fountain of beautiful alabaster stone; on it stood the three Graces with cornucopias emitting water from their breasts, ears, mouths, eyes and other openings of the body. The internal construction of the building over the court stood on massive piers of chalcedony and porphyry with beautiful antique arches, within which were beautiful long and spacious galleries, ornamented by shields, with horns of stags, rhinoceros, unicorn, hippopotamus, elephant's teeth and other curiosities. At the river side was a beautiful pleasure garden, and in its midst was placed the pleasing labyrinth. In the middle between two other towers were placed the ball play and the great ball. Opposite the tower Kryere was the fruit orchard full of fruit trees set in quincunx form; behind it these was the great enclosure, swarming with all kinds of wild animals. All chambers, halls and apartments were differently upholstered according to the season of the year, the floors all being covered by green cloth, the beds by embroidery."

Who does not see at once, that the peculiarities of the most famous chateaus of that time hover before the poet? The winding stairs that lead to the roof and are connected with great halls, recall Chambord, the winding stairways on which one can ride up to the deck we find at Amboise; the galleries adorned

by historical paintings are taken from Fontainebleau. The oval vaults with the raised keystones, the antique arches with the arcades and the fountains in the court, the round towers and the distribution of the living rooms, the lead decoration of the ridges of the roof and even the leaders for water are matters that reappear on all French chateaus of that epoch. The porphyry, marble and other costly stones were brought from the princely buildings of Italy, as proved by more than one example, but expressly by the buildings of Charles VIII and those of George of Amboise. A more complete idea of the French ruler's chateau of the time could not be given.

#### 10. Francis I and the artists.

As everywhere in life, so especially in art the king assumes the initiative. His mind being animated by the ideas of the new time, his cheerful perceptions and love of splendor must express themselves in the most vivid manner in the direct promotion of the formative arts. Were there something romantic in him, that had no influence on his artistic inclinations? He was so little enthusiastic for the architecture of the middle ages, that he caused the old Louvre to be torn down in order to obtain space for the new building, in spite of the magnificent gallery and stairway from the time of Charles V, which was therefore devoted to ruin. On the other hand the king was entirely filled with the nobility of Italian art. How many of the most famous masters he invited into his country, or if this was impossible, he ordered art works from them. At the apex stood Lionardo da Vinci, whom he esteemed not merely as a great artist, but also as a distinguished man, on account of his versatility and deep knowledge. The collection of the Louvre still contains some of the rare paintings of the great master, that came from the collection of Francis I, among them the portrait of Mona Lisa, for which the king paid 12,000 livres, an extraordinary sum for that time. Likewise he invited Andrea del Sarto, who foolishly lost his splendid position, since he misused the confidence of the king. For the decoration of his chateau of Fontainebleau he had Rosso of Florence and Primaticcio come. He sent the latter to Italy with a considerable sum, who brought no less than 125 antique works in marble as well as casts from Trajan's column, of the Laocoon, Venus, Ariadne, a

and other famous antiques, that were all cast in bronze and placed in Fontainebleau. He also had the horse of M. Aurelius cast, and the plaster cast long stood in the court of the chateau of Fontainebleau, from which this received the name of "court of the white horse". Under Primaticcio were employed a number of Italian artists in Fontainebleau, of which may be named N. d. Abbate, who decorated the ballroom and the gallery of Francis I by mural paintings. The king knew how to purchase several excellent works of Raphael, among them the great S. Michael and the Madonna of Francis I, which as we know from documents, was sent to the king in the year 1513 as a gift from the duke of Urbino. The king had himself painted by Titian, probably from a medal; it is a magnificent profile portrait to be seen in the Louvre. Most clearly does B. Cellini describe the intercourse of the king with his artists. He gave them their own dwelling as a workshop, by repeated visits took account of their progress, encouraged them by appreciation and praise and paid them with princely munificence. So he gave Primaticcio the abbey of S. Martin at Troyes, he had also destined an abbey for Cellini.

It is characteristic that among this host of artists to which still others were added, no architect is named. In the survey of the buildings we shall see, that chiefly French architects erected the king's chateaus. On the contrary no artists were in France to whom could have been entrusted the internal decoration of the buildings in the style of the new time by stuccos, sculptures and paintings. We indeed found already in the second half of the 15th century the distinguished painter of miniatures, J. Fouquet, in whose pictures already appear echoes of the Renaissance, architectural backgrounds with antique buildings; indeed in the 16th century the two Clouets, father and son, were highly esteemed and much employed at the French court; we also learn from the building accounts of Gaillon to know numerous other native masters, to whom was confided the ornamentation of the apartments; but those more important masters are evidently only skilled in works at small scale, particularly portraits, and these latter doubtless belong to a rather manual practice, that never rose above merely decorative painting of architecture and the gilding and painting of sculptures, en-

entirely in the style of the middle ages. Thus we likewise find in Gaillon an Italian, A. d. Solario, employed for the paintings of higher rank, and for the same part of the equipment with paintings and stuccos, we see everywhere and especially at Chateau Madrid and at Fontainebleau, Italian artists are brought in. First in the year 1541, it is stated that Serli was called for the rebuilding of the Louvre, who was busy at S. Germain and for a longer time at Fontainebleau; but we cannot prove any vestiges of his creations.

The love of the king for building, after so many destructions of many of the finest works of the French Renaissance, is rather known by the drawings of du Cerceau, who states the evidence for the king: "The king Francis I was marvellously devoted to the buildings." Brantome speaks with still greater surprise of the magnificence of his buildings and their rich furnishings, that make the greater impression, if then are compared with the dryness of the ornamentation, that was not unusual in the royal chateaus in the time of Charles VIII. Finally if we add thereto, that in the year 1536 by Genoese manufactors was laid the foundation of the silk industry of Lyons, and that at the same time the art of printing books rose higher, which in intellectual as well as in material relations was of great importance, we have now briefly alluded to the artistic endeavors of this active epoch.

Since the Renaissance in France proceeded from the princes, so the architecture there also bears the stamp of their wishes and minds. For they not merely advanced beyond their people in comprehending generally the new ideas; also in details, plan and execution of the buildings, their views and customs of life must be determinative. This fixes the peculiar character of the French Renaissance. In Italy the new art proceeded from the people, was created by great masters with an inspired study of the antique, and represents the entire life of the nation in an ideal expression. It was introduced in France by the sovereign will of the princes. But however many Italian artists were called into the country, still until the last time of the life of Francis I the Renaissance is entirely original and French. We are able to point out no work, that could be attributed to Italian architects, and it is then that the Italians had to

adapt themselves to the French mode, even to the denial of their own. This may certainly have occurred. At least B. Cellini tells how he made the model for a portal of the chateau of Fontainebleau, whereby he tried to alter the existing arrangement as little as possible. He says, "it was after their French style, great and somewhat dwarfed, its proportions little more than square, above that being a semicircle, depressed like the handle of a basket." Likewise we find in Serlio's Book Vi a number of fireplaces, chimney caps, sketches for facades with high roofs, which as he himself states are suited to the French style by the crossbars in the windows, winding stairs, mansards and the form of the chimney caps. In any case therefore the influence of the national customs, opinions and requirements was so strong, that even the proudest Italian artists must submit to them, without being able to change themselves in essential matters. With the exception of the internal decoration of which we have already spoken, and for which the Italians were preferably called, we must assume that the buildings of this entire epoch were designed and executed by French masters. Also proofs are not wanting that French architects had quite early made themselves acquainted with the architectural style. In the accounts of chateau Gaillon appears a master P. Delorme, of whom it is said, that he understood how to "do the antique and after the French fashion". Indeed these clever artists were yet capable superintendents of works after the mediaeval manner, who did not feel themselves to be men of high rank like the arrogant Italians. This is not merely shown by their executed work, but also the fact, that no historian has preserved their names, and that only recent researches have succeeded in obtaining these from the yellowed documents of their activities. Likewise there was not lacking among contemporaries a strong consciousness of artistic activity, and Charles de S. Marthe says in his advice to poets, certainly not without poetic exaggeration:-

"What has Italy or Germany,

Greece, Scotland, England or Spain,

More than France? Is not this the property of all?

Have they more means for the arts?

So much that we must yield to them,

That we shall soon surpass them."

But their works best testify for those plain old French masters, and we shall now consider them.

#### 11. Foundations of the French Renaissance.

If the Italian Renaissance took up the problem of creating a clear and artistic expression of their entire life, private and public, secular and religious, the like cannot be said of the French architecture of this epoch. It serves almost exclusively secular interests, and is principally created for the splendid ornamentation of elevated life. The cities, citizens and people generally, still long and firmly adhered to the traditions of the older art, and the new architectural style first penetrated among them in a perceptible manner in the time of Henry II. But nominally all church architecture continues unchanged until the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the Gothic style, that indeed soon adopts some antique details, but in form of plan and construction remains faithful to mediaeval traditions.

It is otherwise with the architecture of the chateau. This indeed proceeds from the ground form of the feudal castle of the Gothic period, retains in plan and arrangement as in the general appearance the mediaeval form, yet <sup>in</sup> a substantially new sense. That form henceforth becomes a mask, which conceals an entirely changed interior. Already since the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, men had found the old castles uncomfortable. The massive towers, the narrow courts, the little openings for light, the entire character calculated merely for defense was oppressive and heavy in a cheerful time, whose tendency was devoted to gay enjoyment. Moreover the fortifications became untenable by the introduction of heavy cannon and by the supremacy of the royal power. But the appearance of the feudal castle was desirably retained still, since traditional advantages were intimately connected therewith. Furthermore many customs of life, that had found their expression in the castles, were so inherited in the new time, that men could not give them up. Therefore the numerous concealed passages and stairs, the lofty roofs with a forest of chimneys, the attic story with windows adorned by gables, the independent roofs of the separate parts of the buildings, and before all the great round towers, and finally the moats with walls and drawbridges. The mediaeval tradition so predominates in Chambord, that even the keep is

in the plan of the building. In the general design it remains in the arrangement, as it was developed in the middle ages; each independent chateau had two courts, an external one (lower court) about which are grouped the stables and farm buildings, and an inner one (court of honor) surrounded by the living apartments of the nobles and the rooms for service. A moat as well as walls with towers completely enclose the entire plan as in the feudal period. A clear example is presented by the chateau of Bury given in Fig. 13. Over a drawbridge A flanked by two towers, one passes into the main court F, around which is the residence. At H is a long gallery, the show part of the French chateaus of that epoch. A double flight of steps leads down into the master's garden E, enclosed by a wall with towers, having a small chapel at G. A vegetable garden D with fruit trees, trellises and a dovecot K in the form of a tower incloses it. Before this lie the lower court C with its separate entrance at B, that likewise forms a drawbridge in the mediaeval manner.

But all these forms have a new meaning. The towers formerly serving only for defense with few openings, battlements and machicolations, become living rooms, receive great windows with views of the landscape. Generally where men formerly withdrew into them, now the exterior of the living rooms preferably projects in order to become pleasant by the view of surrounding nature. For not merely the stream flowing by, forest and meadow and a series of hills invite to the view; likewise art contributes to beautifying the vicinity by gardens, flower beds, adorned by terraces, pergolas and fountains, which then surround the seat of the nobles, and a stately park forms the transition to forest and field. While formerly the castle isolated itself morosely from the outside, it now opens as gayly inviting.

Thus is formed every detail in the mediaeval basis in the new sense. The entrance formerly consisted in a great gateway with a little side doorway for persons on foot, now becomes a magnificent lofty portal with an antique enclosure. Instead of the crowning battlements is indeed seen an open gallery of varied design, beneath it an arched frieze with shells in the panels, a reminiscence of the Romanesque crowning cornice (Fig. 14). The windows of the roof story (dormers) retain their Gothic

elevation with piers, flying buttresses and ornamental caps, but the forms are sportively translated into antique elements. (Figs. 14, 15). Further views of the animated diversity prevailing in these favorite forms are given by the illustrations in 21 (Blois), 32 (Chenonceaux), 33 (Bury), 36 (Chantilly), 38 (Azay-le-Rideau). The windows generally still retain for a long time the stone cross bars, of the Gothic period, and also in their enclosure appears the fine grooves and tracery of the middle ages. In the general plan may be also usually restricted by the irregularity of the older parts, that were utilized as at S. Germain, Gaillon, Fontainebleau and many other places. It is seen from this, how little this time allowed to prevail a symmetrical plan as an indispensable basal requirement. But where they could add freely, men strove as much as possible for a regular form of plan, that in details was still not so strictly connected. Particularly all the stairways by which an element of picturesque arrangement and great charm was freely introduced in the buildings. They were not included in the arrangement of the interior in Italy, but in the mediæval fashion were placed in a round or polygonal tower at the angle of the principal court, or that projected from the middle of a court facade. These stairways are always winding, sometimes being ramps without steps and ascending as at Amboise. The French language at that time did not know the word stair (escalier), but always employed the word screw (vis). The principal flight often became a grand piece of magnificence of construction and ornament, as at Chambord, where it is built with double flights, so that those ascending and descending need not meet. This is also a tradition of the middle ages. The upper termination then usually forms a pavilion or an open lantern. In other examples, as in Gaillon and Blois (Fig. 29) the stairway consists of a system of piers and arches, opened by airy perforations at the sides.

With this striving for gayer magnificence is connected the broader plan of the courts, that further frequently contain arcades in the lower (Fig. 16) as well as in the upper stories, yet as a rule only extending on one or two, scarcely ever on the sides. The separate wings of the building always have but one room in width, and the rooms lie in a single series beside



each other. Thereby was required a greater number of corridors and separate stairs, and in fact the buildings of this epoch are characterized by their numerous stairways. The chateaus of Francis I, like Chambord, Madrid, La Muette and others are mostly divided into a more or less great number of independent lodgings, each consisting of a living room, sleeping cabinet, wardrobe and privy, externally with its own entrance and separate stairs. For the common society is then in each story arranged a large hall, or even several halls with a central plan if possible. The place of magnificence of the more important chateaus is the gallery, a hall with narrow plan but of extreme length, strikingly similar in proportions to the halls of ancient Assyrian palaces, indeed being a reminiscence of the great assembly halls of mediaeval castles. However the latter were always in several aisles, and thereby with their numerous vaults on slender columns and the high arched windows adorned by painted glass, made an impression entirely different from these galleries with their ceilings gleaming in gold and colors, their paintings and extremely rich stucco decorations. The ceilings of the rooms mostly consisted of a rich wooden coffered construction (Fig. 17); however splendid stucco ceilings were soon introduced for the state rooms by the Italian artists. Still the French Renaissance does not have the aversion of the Italian for the cross vault; it rather likes to employ it for staircases, halls, chapels and where required elsewhere, indeed with the mediaeval section of ribs, corbels, keystones, even free pendants. But the form of the arch is no longer Gothic, but it is mostly a depressed arch like the style of a basket handle, as employed already in the latest Gothic epoch. (Fig. 18). The regular round arch gradually opens its way.

Thus also in the general design, the high roofs with their windows and chimneys, towers and winding stairs are retained by the very picturesque design of the middle ages. To the antique belongs only the slight covering by certain forms of details, the enclosure of windows and portals, the subdivision of the surfaces of walls by pilasters or half columns, the treatment of the cornices and other members by the elements of antique architecture. But while in Italy the principles of this world of form are sought, to be fixed in clear proportions, t

there here prevails no definite arrangement, and pilasters of of the most varied dimensions are employed, extended without limit and stunted like dwarfs, carelessly beside each other. As a rule the pilasters are paneled with the lozenge forms at the middle and ends liked in upper Italy, also usually ornamented by its leaf and arabesque ornament. Generally the sportive and ornament-loving early Renaissance of upper Italy exerted far more influence on French architecture than the earnest and massive architectural style of Tuscany. That shows itself particularly in the lavish abundance which covered other parts of the architecture on French buildings of the epoch of Louis XII and of Francis I, particularly the friezes with ornaments. These often have a refinement in drawing, a charm of invention, a delicacy of execution, that appears to rank with the most beautiful that Venice and Florence produced in decorative works. An object of preference by architects of this splendid period was the capitals of pilasters and half columns, which they distribute on their facades. They assume a free form like the Corinthian of the well known idea of the capital of the Italian early Renaissance, which consists of a row of acanthus leaves, from which volutes, dolphins or other forms of figures project to support the abacus. But French art is even more full of imagination, more varied in its inventions, and partly on account of mediæval opinions and endless diversity of the same ground motive is more deeply imbedded in the race, partly since they feel less restricted to the motives of the antiques. We give in Fig. 19 as evidence a capital from Fontainebleau with which can be compared the capital in Fig. 71.

The interiors of these magnificent buildings receive an artistic treatment, in which likewise the middle ages at first strongly appear. Vaults and wooden ceilings gleam in gold and azure, and it is astonishing, for example to see from the accounts of Gaillon what extensive use was made of gilding. Also the works of sculpture, after the Italian model now executed in marble and richly gilded. No less shining in the little window panes are the works of glass painters in pictures, arms, mottoes and emblems of manifold kinds, and we find these not only in the still half Gothic Gaillon, but even yet in Fontainebleau enters the decidedly new tendency. What then concerns

the form of the ceilings, these show thus in staircases, vestibules, corridors and chapels for a long time the Gothic ribbed vaults, often with splendid carved, painted and gilded pendant keystones, as in the staircase of chateau Nantouillet, in the church at Tillieres, and in many other examples (Fig. 19). The living rooms, chambers, halls and galleries on the contrary receive wooden ceilings with splendid coffering and elegant reliefs, such as are surprising in the chateaus of Chenonceaux and of Beauregard, also first of all in Fontainebleau. Examples of such ceilings of marked refinement and taste and execution are given in Fig. 17. Likewise on the portals, grilles of chapels, and finally on the panelings of walls is employed the strikingly skilful wood carving derived from the middle ages, but the style of these works shows throughout instead of the late Gothic the noble and harmonious art style of the Renaissance. Finally there came from Italy the inlaid work (intarsia), examples of which with unsurpassable charm are preserved, as in the chateau Ancy-le-Franc, or there are found splendid golden decorations in the most beautiful patterns, such as chateau Anet possessed.

On the walls prevails in the first period until about the middle of the 16th century the wood carving, but besides it is extensively used the decoration by sculptured tapestries, such as the adjacent Flanders and especially Arras supplied in excellent works. Brantome speaks with enthusiasm of the noble hangings, that adorned the chateaus of Francis I. In Gail-lon were no less than 20 tapestry workers and embroiderers busied with the furnishing of the chateau. Genoa, Milan, Florence and Tours furnished the magnificent materials, the green, blue, crimson red velvets, white damasks, green taffetas, which were embroidered with arms, monograms and emblems in colors, gold and silver. Not merely the walls, but also the furniture, arm-chairs, beds, canopies, curtains, exhibited throughout such costly fabrics. Especially magnificent were the fireplaces, that were entirely constructed in the style of the Renaissance, flanked by pilasters or columns, the frieze with arabesques, above it being a panel with a painting or a work in relief, all executed in marble (Fig. 20). Finally if we add thereto, that the floors in halls, chapels, galleries and even in the courts

of the nobles were covered by glazed tiles, for which came Florentine masters, that the smiths furnished artistic and splendidly executed gilded grilles and other works, that the ridges of the roofs and the apexes of the numerous towers shone with likewise gilded leaden ornaments, sometimes also gleamed with shining fayence tiles, particularly in Normandy, we have a picture of the artistic furnishing of these buildings affecting all their parts.

It is true that joyous time knows no strict law of composition nor any classical development of forms. But however little classical are the details, yet this architecture has such independent value as the faithful reflection of the customs and opinions of their time, as the expression of the events in the lives of the princes and their circles, whose character we have described above. One must not seek here purity of style, and just as little a correct treatment and use of the antique; but an original charm, picturesque grace, the expression of gay enjoyment of life in naive blending and piquant elaboration of heterogeneous forms, will be appropriate to this amiable architecture in a high degree.

About the end of the reign of Francis I, and thus about the middle of the century, the antique commences to exert a stronger influence. Men strove for a greater regularity of plan, as for example may be recognized in the chateau Ancy-le-Francois. (Plan in Fig. 97). The remains of mediaeval tradition disappear, the numerous projecting additions, angle towers and stair towers are suppressed, the stairs are more included in the interior, but are always simply arranged according to the kind in Florentine palaces, with a simple flight covered by an inclined tunnel vault and with tolerably steep steps. Every stairway in the Louvre by which one ascends to the galleries of paintings is a striking example. But particularly the details are treated in the antique sense, the classical columnar orders are more strictly observed, more purely imitated, more harmoniously managed (Fig. 20), the wall surfaces receive by column and pilaster orders a rich entablature and cornice, with a regular subdivision by niches. Likewise for this the Louvre presents the finest example in its court facades. But in spite of the appearance resembling the antique, the steep roofs and the high pa-

pavilions are retained with their colossal chimney caps, yet the dormer windows are no longer treated in a manner like the Gothic, but are enclosed by a more strict pilaster system and are terminated by a sort of antique cap. Everywhere is the endeavor for greater simplicity and repose, but with the joyous freedom of the earlier epoch is lost much of the naive charm of this architectural style, and under the successors of Henry II already steals in a frosty insipidity. But at the same time occur ugly, capricious and even Barocco forms, heavy members, broken cornices, shafts of columns with horizontal bands and fanciful ornaments, finally excrescences of every kind, so that the Barocco style appears here almost earlier than in Italy. This is particularly true of the treatment of the interior, where the wooden paneling and hangings on the walls, as well as the artistically carved wooden ceilings are gradually supplanted by the stucco work introduced from Italy, combined with painting, indeed for the most part already restricted to overloaded pomp and mannerized forms. But on the whole and especially on the exterior, there always remains a certain solidity, power and grandeur, produced by important masters like Lescot, Bullant, de l'Orme, and French architecture retains till in the first decades of the 17 th century an undeniable stamp of originality.

## Chapter II. Transition Style under Charles VIII and Louis XII.

### 12. Revival of the church Gothic.

It has already been stated, that the <sup>people</sup> ~~middle~~ communities and clergy opposed the Renaissance until the ~~end~~ of the 16 th century. They continued steadfast in the traditions of the middle ages and erected their churches, city halls and houses in the Gothic style. Church architecture first retained the old system in the arrangement of plan and construction, and only in the sportive tendency of the decoration of the flamboyant style did it betray, that the aroused worldly pleasure, the secular sense of the realistic time carried its strong influence also into the religious life. In order to give a conception of the exuberance, with which occurs this Indian summer of Gothic in France, it suffices to refer to the series of monuments enumerated at the proper place in Kugler's History of Architecture. Works like S. Maclou at Rouen and the facade of the cathedral there (1485-1507), as well as the Paris church of S. Germain l'Auxerrois, of S. Severin, S. Gervais, S. Medard, S. Merry, the latter first built after 1520, finally the tower of S. Jacques de la Boucherie (1503-1522), farther the excessively rich facade of the cathedral of Troyes and the other churches built in that ancient city in the same century, but first of all the masterpiece of Notre Dame at Brou (1506-1536), many other church buildings of this epoch give a splendid idea of the revival of the Gothic.

In this late mediaeval form first exhausted itself that fancifully decorative tendency, that was peculiar to this century, mostly in the North. As a rule men have treated as bad these works of this flamboyant style and as "decadent art," rejected as "Gothic pedantry". Unjustly in truth, when one examines the wealth of creative power, the overflow of the inventions of genius shown therein. These works certainly must not be measured by the scale of the strongly structural style of the early Gothic of the 13 th century. In construction they are much lower than those, and before all their ornamentation has in its lively spirits released itself from the structural basis, and untroubled by that carries in its own hand its varied interlacings as a loose sport. But what an unconquerable pleasure and

a manifold expression of ornamental life, what an immeasurable series of variations on the same theme, and with what skill the chisel is driven, indeed every material is bullied and flattered! Doubtless this refinement like every other is not the highest in art, but there remains in it a good piece of the poetry of the stonecutter, and the fanciful sense of the century found its finest expression in it. Before all one thing is clear; this school loving ornamentation first came to excel all in decoration. It is to be repeated, that when first made acquainted with the forms of the Renaissance, it will not meditate for a moment also to embody in this means of expression the already existing treasure of ornamental forms. We shall see that it so occurred.

### 13. Late Gothic secular architecture.

More important for us are the private houses of this epoch, since while they still freely adhere to Gothic forms, to certain mediaeval peculiarities of plan, the joy in the life of the time appears in the more stately design and the richer execution. One of the most beautiful examples is the well preserved house of Jacques Coeur at Bourges (1443-1453). Holding the intermediate position between a feudal castle and a city mansion, it adjoins the city wall with its towers, which are taken into the ground plan. An irregular court separates the living rooms from the street. Three stair towers projecting into the court afford convenient admission to the different parts, and suggest the rich arrangement of anterooms, on which was already laid great stress in mediaeval castle architecture. Over the broad gateway with its narrow side entrance for persons on foot lies the chapel, that has its own stairway. At both sides adjoin wide porticos opening into the court by arcades, intended for the external business of the house.

The most complete representation of a prominent city dwelling of this time is afforded by mansion Cluny in Paris, built after 1435. Likewise here a court surrounded by a wall crowned by battlements separates the dwelling from the street; an arrangement that in the most recent times has remained in use for important city residences in France. Also here the great portal is accompanied by a little entrance for persons on foot, here just at the left is the room of the porter, which by its own winding

stairs and an arcaded passage is connected with the dwelling. Likewise here are several winding stairs, that permit access to the different rooms and connect with the garden.

About the same time toward 1490 was built in Paris the mansion de la Tremoille (Fig. 21), which was tory down in the forties of the last century. With a splendidly rich equipment, it again had the double entrance A into an irregular court, that separates the living rooms from the street, and is surrounded on two sides by open arcades. Several stairwayu no longer starting from the court, the principal stairway connected with a flight of steps and a ramp, formed the connection with the upper story. Over the passage B that led from the court to the garden, there projected on slender columns a chapel for the house, an arrangement liked in the middle ages, that we shall often find. A smaller court C with a fountain was connected with the garden by arcades, and separated the living rooms from the kitchen and its accessories. A second entrance is overlooked by the porter's room and led from the garden into a side street.

In the same style and now about the end of the 15 th and the beginning of the 16 th centuries were then built several country seats of nobles, that plainly betray the endeavor for splendid ornamentation, although this is still expressed entirely in Gothic forms. Of such a kind is chateau Meillant in the department of Cher, built about 1500 by cardinal Amboise, whom we shall meet later as a noble-minded promoter of art. He erected this for his nephew Charles of Amboise, lord of Chaumont, while the latter was absent as governor of Milan. The structure exhibits the irregular plan and the arrangement of a mediæval castle. It consists only of a long wing broken at an oblique angle. Externally it is flanked by numerous towers of irregular form and at both ends rise square towers with machicolations and high roofs. The western one presents itself to be recognized as the old keep by its imposing mass of masonry.

While of this entirely in mediæval style only served the purposes of a fortification, the habitable character peculiar to modern times is expressed on the inner side next the court by the great windows with stone crosses, the richly opened galleries, that like the window parapets exhibit vesica motives,



and the tall dormer windows richly crowned by their gables. The ascents to the living rooms are placed in the three polygonal towers, and besides them projects a little octagonal tower like a bay window. The masterpiece of the entire design is the principal stairway, whose angles are enclosed by strongly twisted columns, and whose surfaces from below upward are covered by blind tracery and the devices of the owner. Over the low portal are the supporters of the arms with the shield and mottos of Charles of Amboise arranged under three rather wonderful canopies. The tower ends in a terrace enclosed by a perforated balustrade decorated by the vesica ornament. From thence rises a lantern beset by crockets as a crown of the powerful entirety. Under the balustrade extends a Gothic crowning cornice, that is externally enriched by a round-arched frieze and niches with shells. The latter is the only echo of Renaissance forms found on the entire chateau. But it returns again to the little fountain treated as a Gothic pointed pier, which is found in the court. A little Gothic chapel is also detached from the chateau and completes the design.

Another work of this time is the chateau of Chaumont (Fig. 22). In a magnificent location high above the Loire, it yet retains its entirely mediaeval stamp and the emblems that Meillant also exhibits, to whose possessor, Charles of Amboise, is also to be referred this building for a great part. It consists of two wings, grouped in irregular form about a court, and flanked at both ends by massive round towers with machicolations and high roofs. The entrance through a round-arched gateway lies in a high pavilion, that is enclosed between two massive round towers with machicolations and steep roofs. The court opens between the two wings of the building as a free terrace with a splendid view over the Loire.

The interior exhibits in its halls, chambers and the great gallery a magnificent treatment in the style of the Renaissance, so that here is received in full measure the habitable impression of the chateau of this time. Worth seeing are especially several tapestries of the 15th century, that belong to the original furnishing of the chateau. Likewise the great cross-shaped chapel, built in rich flamboyant style and adorned by painted glass, merits consideration. The forms of the entire

building still exhibit the Gothic style.

Of a similar kind is the chateau of Fougères, built by P. de Refuge, treasurer of Louis XI. Likewise here the entrance is flanked by two towers, and at the angles of the building project massive round towers and a square tower like a keep. The court is enclosed by arcades and the main stairway as usual lies in a richly ornamented polygonal staircase.

Also the beautiful chateau of Martainville, located in the department of Lower Seine, exhibits in allied manner a still complete dependence on the mediaeval world of form, but in an arrangement of plan with the modern idea of the comfort of a freer habitation (Fig. 23). In an extensive court enclosed by farm buildings on two sides, and by walls with little round angle towers, rises the main building in the form of a rectangle 70 ft. wide and 43 ft. deep. At the four angles project round towers, internally containing polygonal chambers, that are connected with the principal rooms as cabinets. The entrance lies at A in the middle of the facade under the choir of the chapel arranged in the upper story and projecting as an oriel, a frequently repeated arrangement in France. A passage covered by a cross vault separates the great hall H from the two rooms D, G, lying on the other side. At the end of the corridor is placed the winding stairway B in a polygonal staircase, which leads to the two upper stories. In the principal story a part of the corridor is separated by a cross wall as a chapel, and at each side of the passage are arranged two chambers connected together. The exterior shows itself as a brick building full of character, in the upper stories adorned by lozenge panels and lily ornaments in darker bricks. Yet the rich Gothic gable caps of the dormer windows are executed in cut stone. All this and the animated membering in general, the four angle towers with their conical roofs, the tall stairway tower crowned by a belfry, and the ornamental choir of the chapel lend a very picturesque impression to the building.

Finally here also belongs a series of stately city halls, particularly in the northeast provinces, that found direct models in the city halls of adjacent Flanders. They mostly consist of a vaulted hall in the ground story, over which rises the upper stories, often crowned by a great belfry, in rich ornament-

ornamentation of the late Gothic period. Besides the city halls already described at S. Quentin, Noyon and Saumur, we mention the city halls of Douay, Dreux and the particularly attractive one at Compeigne, that indeed possesses no vaulted hall, but is distinguished by niches for statues crowned by canopies, by a great flat arched niche for the equestrian statue of Louis XII, and especially by the great belfry rising above the middle of the facade. The building was begun in 1499, and is likewise entirely executed in the Gothic style, again a proof how firmly and how long the circles of citizens adhered to native traditions in opposition to the Court.

#### 14. Chateau of Amboise.

When Charles VIII returned from Italy, he burned with zeal to cause such magnificence to be executed, that he had seen yonder in the splendid palaces and villas. By cardinal G. de Rovere, later Pope Julius II, he was sent a richly ornamented model of a palace, that G. da Sangallo had made for him. The artist must himself take it to Lyons, where the king greeted him with joy and richly rewarded him. But before all the king caused artists to come from Naples for the works, by which he thought to beautify the shateau of Amboise (1498). According to the evidence of Comines, he undertook there such great buildings, "that for a hundred years no king had erected," And indeed both at the chateau as well as in the city. With what zeal the king carried on this affair is shown by the receipt of an N. F. got, who acknowledges the receipt of 398 livres 5. sous Tournois for the transportation of several tapestries, books, paintings, marbles, porphyry stones and other articles, as well as for the maintenance of 22 workmen, whom the king caused to come from his works from Naples to Amboise.

The chateau of Amboise (Fig. 24) is yet always an imposing building, that with its mighty towers and its elevated terrace rises to dominate the high bank of the Loire. From the buildings of Charles VIII, according to the statements of Comines, date the two great towers C and D, of about 40 ft. diameter, in which an inclined ramp 20 ft. wide allows one to ascend on horseback to the top of the terrace and the court of the chateau at the same height. The inner court A is surrounded on two sides by arcades, that intersect at an acute angle of the irr-

irregular plan. Numerous winding stairs project internally and provide communications in these older parts of the building. A hall of considerable size still forms the most important part of the internal apartments. Externally several round towers occupy the angles of the chateau. A little cross shaped chapel with polygonal choir is still planned and constructed in Gothic likewise projecting from the outer wall. It appears to belong to the same time, but under the restoration by the duke of Orleans was again rebuilt.

#### 15. Chateau at Blois.

An early death removed Charles VIII in the midst of his undertakings, and the buildings commenced in a great style remained unfinished. But Louis XII in his long and fortunate reign (1498-1515), impressed by the nobility of Italian art, again undertook these endeavors, and sought to make them not merely art works, but also to obtain artists for himself. He invited the Genoese Fra Giocondo, of whom Vasari states, that he built two beautiful bridges over the Seine, and elsewhere executed many works in France for the king. But in truth only one bridge, that of Notre Dame, is proved to have been built by Fra Giocondo, after the old bridge fell in Nov. 1499. First in the autumn of 1512 the new stone bridge with its booths was safely completed. Otherwise neither from the archives nor from the style of the buildings of Louis XII, not in any manner is confirmed the activity of the artistic brother as stated by Vasari. Also the old court of accounts in palace of justice, judging from the engravings of I. Sylvestre, can any conclusions be derived for the participation of Fra Giocondo.

But the love of art of the king set him to building the chateau of Blois as the most magnificent monument. From the city of Blois rise two hills, of which the higher is crowned by the cathedral, the lower rising through the extended structures of the royal chateau. The history of the castle extends back into the Roman period, where at the end of the 6th century it appears as a fort, was a feudal castle, first under the count of Blois, then under the duke of Orleans. In the year 1433 are mentioned important works there, that however exclusively concerned the fortifications. Since the middle of the 15th century its character was changed like so many other chateaus of

the middle ages, and from a warlike fortress of the feudal period it became a magnificent princely residence. Louis XII had an animated preference for his birthplace and mostly resided here, brought to an end this rebuilding with all the wealth of his time, and as J. de Auton says, built the chateau entirely anew and with truly royal expenditure.

The imposing building (Fig. 25) substantially exhibits different groups of buildings. The oldest portion at the right of a person entering forms the northeast angle of the whole. It consists of the great hall H for the mediaeval assembly of notables and bears the impress of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the time of S. Louis. Stone columns with early Gothic capitals and pointed arches divide into two aisles the hall, 50 ft. wide and 90 ft. long, each aisle having a wooden ceiling in form of a pointed arch. This upper portion dates from the time of Louis XII. To the buildings of this king then belong the eastern wing B, that continues at the southern side E at a right angle and there receives the chapel J. The building of Francis I, to be described later, extends at an obtuse angle on the opposite northern side O and formerly with the western wing formed the termination. In place of the latter appeared later the tasteless building of Gaston de Orleans. We first have to do with the work of Louis XII.

The principal facade B lies at the east and is 160 ft. long, divided irregularly, its mass being constructed of bricks like the entire building of Louis, except the plinth, the enclosures of the windows and doorways, the rich crowning cornice with cornice and balustrade composed of vesica patterns, the dormer caps of the roof, and finally the angles and pilasters, that are made of cut stone. The windows of the ground, upper and attic stories are on unequal axial distances, entirely arranged according to the internal requirements. Still is apparent an endeavor for all possible uniformity of distances. These stone crossbars, the little columns and the cavettos of the enclosures as well as the intersecting rounds, and finally the crownings resting on corbels still entirely belong to the Gothic style. The same is true of the balustrades of the two balconies at the last and next to the last windows, of the fanciful tracery of the main cornice, of the form of the vertical bands,

and finally of the caps of the dormers, whose ogee pointed arches are equipped with crockets and crossflowers and terminate in finials. Only once at the first dormer (on the right) occurs a Renaissance motive, that instead of a finial, pilasters crowned by dolphins are employed. In the panels beneath the arches of the dormers are frequently placed the arms of the first wife of Louis, Anne of Brittany, and the monograms of the royal pair. The portal is unsymmetrically placed at the right side and consists of a high semicircular arch, beside which is a little doorway opens with a depressed arch for persons on foot. Over both are seen the emblems of Louis XII, the hedgehog with the crown, moreover above the main entrance under a rich canopy with golden lilies on a blue ground is the equestrian statue of the king in high relief. This belongs to the restorations, that have again restored the entire chateau under the masterly guidance of Felix Duban.

The inner facade next the court is formed by arcades D and F in the ground story on the eastern and southern sides, where very depressed arches rest on piers, that alternately exhibit lozenge panels with lilies or a paneling or framework with arabesques after the style of the Italian Renaissance. These are the sole decided echos of the Italian style, while all else, profiles of arches, cornices and balustrades to the finials of gables and dormers are still Gothic. The connection with the upper story with both angles at right and left of the entrance, is formed by winding stairways F and G, of which that on the right shows itself by longer plan, richer ornamentation and a direct ending at the great hall as the principal stairway. Especially beautiful are the richly ornamented eight ribs and the vaulted termination. The upper story consists of a single series of rooms 26 ft. deep, the main hall being 42 ft. long. In the southern wing lies the single-aisled chapel, J with an octagonal end, rich star vaults and windows with vesicas, entirely the work of the flamboyant Gothic, recently again restored. There also dates from the time of Louis XII, its foundations even from the time of the early middle ages, the round tower L at the northwest angle of the chateau, that was later entirely included within the building of Francis I.

We nothing of the architects of the building. The style speaks

against rather than for Fra Giocondo. On the contrary, it is determined by recent discoveries, that Colin Biart, "master mason of the city of Blois," was engaged both on the chateau of Blois as well as that of Amboise. According to all appearance, since we shall soon see him called by cardinal Amboise to Gaillon, we must regard him as a very skilful and widely known master.

#### 16. Chateau of Gaillon.

The greatest promoter of the Renaissance in France was the minister of Louis XII, cardinal George of Amboise, archbishop of Rouen, one of the most enlightened statesmen of his time. He knew how to provide himself with Italian books and art works, and therewith adorned both the archbishop's palace in Rouen and also his chateau of Gaillon. Great sums, that came to him in great part from the fines laid on the revolted Italian cities, he employed in the building of these chateaus. No less than 158,600 livres, a sum now equal to twentyfold (8,172,000 francs) was the amount according to still existing accounts of the entire cost of the erection of Gaillon, and yet the cost of building the archbishop's palace at Rouen exceeded this by a third. Among others, there arose a magnificent gallery in the garden with a marble fountain, then a chapel and an oratory. Nothing remains of those works, but on the other hand we have of Gaillon, that was sold and disgracefully devastated in 1792, at least some remains in the School of Fine Arts at Paris, the drawings of du Gerceau and the complete accounts of the cost, which allow us a comprehensive view of the artistic affairs of that time. Although the chateau was not the private property of Amboise but belonged to the archiepiscopate of Rouen, and although in his very busy life he could seldom and but for a few days reside there, the high-minded prelates in pure enthusiasm for the art, carried on the construction with all zeal from 1502 to 1510 at his death. Sometimes he appeared to look after his buildings, to enjoy their progress, but then must --- so little care was then taken for the necessary arrangements --- everything needed even to means of living must be brought from Rouen, and it even occurred that one must borrow a bed. Yet all was there executed with the greatest magnificence, marble piers and medallions of the same material were obtained, and the richly ornamented marble fountain was even brought from Italy.

Gaillon lies about 45 miles from Rouen, a mile from the Seine and on hilly ground, that affords a rich view toward the east. In the middle ages under Philip August, it was a strong fortress, that in the 13<sup>th</sup> century came into the possession of the archbishop of Rouen, and in the 15<sup>th</sup> century was destroyed by the English by razing the walls and the keep. Soon Thereafter cardinal d'Estouteville rebuilt the castle, and George de Amboise found it in this condition. In his rebuilding (Fig. 26), he added to the existing works, retained the main walls with the towers and moat, thereby preserving the irregular triangular form of the whole. He threw a drawbridge over the moat L, protected it at the gate a by two towers, to the main entrance b c. This lay in a rectangular pavilion H with little towers at the angles, adjacent at the right and left of d'Estouteville's buildings G. From thence one passed to the outer court A, and from this through the gallery E to the principal court B. This is also irregular in plan with arcades on two sides D and E, that were open in the lower, but closed in the upper story. Two projecting polygonal towers in opposite corners f and m contain the winding stairs to the upper story. They are connected with the galleries at the same time, and through them permit access to the apartments. The main stairway f is state-ly with its external piers and open arches between them. In the middle of the court stood the famous marble fountain g. In the northwest angle of the court rose a rectangular pavilion K, flanked outside by little towers on corbellings, through which one passed over a drawbridge to a great terrace, and from thence reached the extended garden.

The principal building C, "the great house", consists of a series of rooms, before which on the outside extends a magnificent gallery n on marble piers. At one angle this is flanked by a great round tower I, and at the opposite side by the chapel J. The opposite irregular part F G of the building was termed the house of P. de l'Orme, after the name of the constructing architect. Also the pavilion K, that forms the connection with the garden, bore the name of that master. The garden itself formed a flower lawn of great extent, 540 ft. wide and twice as long, inclosed at the southeast longer side by an open gallery, that ends in a little pavilion. The middle of



the garden exhibited a running fountain beneath a dovecot. From the garden one passed into the part with its magnificent groups of trees, from which a long alley led to the hermitage and to the "white house", an arrangement added by the second successor of Amboise, Charles de Bourbon, in a rather garocco style, but with great magnificence. The entire park comprises an area of 500 acres.

The general appearance of the chateau (Fig. 27) with its high roofs, chimneys and ornamentally crowned dormers with the numerous towers, subordinate towers and the Gothic chapel was one extremely picturesque, yet entirely in the sense of the middle ages. Only the arcades with their depressed round arches, the medallions and the pilasters belong to the Renaissance. But these new elements are much more strongly mixed with the Gothic forms than at Blois, and the transition style distinctly appears in Gaillon for the first time. All parts of the building were adorned in the richest manner, particularly splendid was the external gallery, whose arches rested on nine marble piers. Over the archivolts were placed marble medallions with antique busts. In the great round tower of this side was the cabinet of the cardinal, whose carved wooden ceiling gleamed with gold and azure. Further was the great hall in this principal part of the residence, a room mentioned with gilded leather hangings and another with green velvet tapestry. The hall measured over 100 ft. long by 48 ft. wide. Like the other rooms, it was directly connected with a magnificent terrace, supported by a marble gallery.

With particular splendor was the chapel furnished, which made itself particularly notable externally by its bell tower with open lantern. Covered by gilded lead in pretty ornaments, it was adorned by figures of sibyls and of sirens. The altar of the chapel was entirely made of marble with relief figures of the 12 apostles, the choir stalls being covered by ornaments and figures in artistic carved work. The 18 windows with paintings on glass, that still aroused surprise at the beginning of the 18th century. Even the walls of the chapel were decorated by paintings, that A. Solario of Milan had executed in two years until 1509. By him was also the altar painting of the chapel, which represented the birth of Christ. The upper part of the

altar was formed by a marble relief by M. Colomb, S. George s slaying the dragon, now preserved in the museum of the Louvre, while the fragments of the unexcelled choir stalls, that show the highest luxury of decorative magnificence in combination of Gothic elements with Renaissance forms, exist in the church of S. Denis. Beneath the stairway, the perforated keystone of the vault was distinguished by its fine ornaments of relief decoration, and the copper S. George that crowned the roof of the great main stairway leading to the chapel.

The arcades of the court rested on richly decorated piers, adorned with arabesques with the most delicate treatment, the windows over them with marble medallions of Roman emperors, finally the dormers with their pyramidal crownings gave the architecture of the court no lesser character. Above the arcades was even seen a long marble relief, that represented the battle of Zenoa and the victorious entry of the French into t that city. Painted heads of stags in wood on a ground of foliage adorned the lower gallery, while the upper one was painted in azure and gold on its vaults. The entire court was paved with black, gray and green tiles laid in rug patterns, but received its chief decoration by the tall running fountain ornamented by works in relief, that the republic of Venice had sent to the cardinal. Of all these beautiful things nothing remains but the portal of the outer court, the work of P. Fain of Rouen, that now separates the courts of the School of Fine Arts in Paris. With its depressed round arches and the pilasters decorated by arabesques it affords an approximate conception of the former splendor of this building, which the Revolution destroyed to the naked walls (Fig. 28).

#### 17. The artists of Gaillon.

The building accounts of Gaillon, that afford a complete glance into the entire undertaking, also give us conclusions in regard to the artists there engaged. Contrary to the so frequently repeated opinions of the participation of Italian architects, especially of Fra Giocondo, in the French buildings of this epoch, it is of value to establish that no prominent Italian architect is mentioned in the accounts, that merely in a subordinate way three artists occur in comparison to more than a hundred French ones at the building, that manifestly the des-

design and execution of the whole was by native artists. These were indeed no famous architects in the modern sense, but plain master builders and masons after the kind in the middle ages. They came from two of the most prominent schools of artists of the country, that of Rouen and that of Tours, whose traditions extend back into the early middle ages. Frequently several were engaged at the same time on different parts of the building, each working independently for himself; sometimes one relieved another in the same work. What the whole suffered thereby in united strength was entirely compensated in the spirit of the middle ages by the varied diversity and original freshness. We briefly mention the chief masters and their activity in building.

As such we learn to recognize G. Senault of Rouen as in the first line among the architects. He designed the plans for the main buildings, and labored from 1502 to 1507 in their execution. He was sometimes called elsewhere to important undertakings as an expert, thus at the building of the new towers at the cathedrals of Rouen and of Bourges. He was also engaged on the new archbishop's palace at Rouen. P. Fain, likewise from Rouen, erected the chapel for 18,000 livres, together with the main stairway leading to it. Furthermore he was the creator of the portal now placed in the School of Fine Arts (Fig. 23), for which he received 650 livres. We further find him at the building of the archbishop's palace at Rouen, which he superintended in the years 1501 and 1502. Later the abbot of S. Ouen, A. Boyer, called "the great builder," entrusted to him the building of a new residence for the abbot. The third master is p. de l'Orme, also of Rouen, of whom it is expressly stated, that he understood how to work in the antique as well as in the French manner. He was also engaged in the archbishop's palace at Rouen. In Gaillon he led in rebuilding the old portions erected by cardinal d'Estouteville, built the wing named after himself, that lies opposite the "great house", and the pavilion that forms the connection with the terrace and the garden.

Besides these masters from Rouen, two prominent artists from Touraine were employed in Gaillon; A. Biart of Blois, who was called several times to inspect the buildings, and designated as architect of Gaillon, besides being called for the building of the towers in Rouen and Bourges, erected the bridge of Notre

Dame in paris, and was engaged on the buildings of the chateaus of Amboise and of Blois. Then P. Valence of Tours, an uncommonly versatile artist, who was employed as stone cutter and master mason, master carpenter, painter, joiner and hydraulic engineer. He chiefly had to do with the buildings in the garden, the great arbor and dovecot, the pavilion and the chapel there. He worked in particular on the wooden covering of the great gallery in the garden, led the water from the park into the chateau, established the running fountain and brought it into connection. In Rouen he was employed on the archbishop's palace, where he laid the floor of glazed tiles. At the conference concerning the new tower of the cathedral, whether it should terminate with a spire or a terrace, he agreed with the other architects for the former, but the chapter decided for the latter. Also in this is recognized the contest of the old and new times, of Gothic traditions with antique opinions.

Besides these principal masters, many others were busied in more subordinate positions. We call attention to two Italians; B. de Meynal of Genoa, who brought and erected the marble fountain and worked on the ornamentation of the marble altar in the chapel, and G. Pacherot, an Italian settled at Amboise, who likewise worked on the fountain and altar, was also busied on the portal and received relatively high wages.

Besides these architects, the extremely rich relief decoration was entrusted to seven sculptors ("image makers"). H. or J. de Bony makes in the year 1508 a S. John for the pavilion in the garden, for which he received 12 livres; then "a master of Melusina, angels in wood," for 24 livres, further 15 stags' heads in wood for the lower gallery, finally the model for the copper S. George, that was to crown the grand stairway. M. Colombe or Coulombe, an excellent master, wrought the upper marble relief for the altar of the chapel, S. George slaying the dragon, now seen in the museum of the Louvre. This master belonged to the school of Tours and did his work not at the place but in his workshop at home. He received for it the sum of 300 livres, considerable for the time. But the most extensive orders were entrusted to A. Juste, who is designated as the Florentine. He made the 12 apostles of alabaster for the chapel, the great marble frieze with the battle of Genoa, a bust of the cardinal

and several other works, for which he received the total sum of 447 livres, small in comparison to M. Columb. Finally there a Milanese artist, L. de Mugiano, were also ordered the marble statues of the king, of the cardinal and of his nephew, the Podesta of Milan. These works were brought from Italy to Gaillon.

Among the 40 painters further mentioned, only A. de Solario is of principal importance. All others only had to do with the gilding and painting of the architectural and ornamental parts. The expenditure for these works, the common use of gold, azure and other costly colors evidences the extent and importance of this painted decoration. For the execution of the windows and their glass paintings were employed five glass painters. As makers of the costly choir stalls are mentioned P. Commedieu, J. Dubois, R. Delaplace, as well as R. Guerpe. Furthermore were not lacking bronze founders, art smiths, lead workers, goldsmiths, and finally are named five miniature painters (illuminators), who were busied for the library of Gaillon.

#### 18. Monuments at Rouen.

Of the artists employed at Gaillon, most belonged to the old and important school, that flourished in the capital of Normandy during the entire middle ages. That in this artistic centre no less important works were executed, we already learn from the accounts of Gaillon; but of the archbishop's palace as well as of the seat of the abbot of S. Ouen nothing now remains. The lavish and magnificent ornamentation on the facade of the cathedral and on S. Maclou, although originating in this epoch, we have to pass over, since they still entirely speak the language of the Gothic style. On the other hand some secular buildings are preserved, in which the transition style of the time fully appears, where the old and the new art compete. Here belongs the palace of justice, whose left wing and the greatest part of the middle building, erected after 1493, are old, while the remainder and particularly the symmetrical termination by a right wing belong to the excellent restoration. Uncommonly rich is especially the middle building. One story above a low ground story with segmental arched windows, it rises with its rectangular windows, but which are enclosed by elegant segmental arches. Richly developed buttresses, crowned by tall pinnacles, subordinate the surface; a roof gallery rises with airy

segmental arches, and has for a crowning ornamental pinnacles and statues with a connection with the flying buttresses. The tall dormers terminate in slender gables, before which extends the entire perforated gallery. All is decorated in the richest manner by extremely graceful forms. The left wing forms a single great hall, with galleries and windows at the ends. Between the windows are small niches in the walls for statues, crowned by ornamental canopies. Wooden tunnel vaults with openings for the dormers. In the middle of the principal facade is constructed a beautiful polygonal bay window, even more luxuriantly ornamented than all the rest.

A magnificent example of contemporary private architecture is the mansion Bourgtheroulde. The principal building is still Gothic in intention, with little flying buttresses, high dormers crowned by finials, and a little stair tower in the angle. But in the upper story already occur Renaissance pilasters with their relief ornaments, and the surfaces below and beside the windows are covered by vividly treated Biblical scenes in low relief, without artistic design but purely picturesque. On the contrary the left wing is an ornamental work of the early Renaissance of the time of Francis I, of high decorative worth. Under the windows extends a plinth with extremely graceful arabesques in delicate relief. Then follows the naive ornamentally executed frieze with the meeting of Francis I and Henry VIII of England in a rich and picturesque arrangement, but modest in effect. Above occur the windows of the upper story between pilasters, that are covered on surfaces and capitals by charming arabesques. The windows exhibit the most elegant enclosures, in their jambs being little columns like candelabras with healthy nude children and other figure accessories. Above an altar finally forms the termination, also with very rich pilasters and a frieze, that however has a rather too strong relief. In this has been found by Palustre representations of the triumph of Petrarch. The whole belongs to the most luxuriant and most elegant, which this sportive time has produced; the proportions are little and trifling.

As one of the most precious creations of the time must be designated the house on the central Place, that formerly served as the finance office, and was erected after 1509 by R. le Roux for

T. Bohier, general of Normandy. Here the full grace of the early Renaissance appears in a truly enchanting play of ornament, in a manifold invention and delicacy of execution. That seeks its equal. Frieze of medallions, arms and emblems, the latter held by winged genii and also by winged bulls, arabesques of graceful outlines on each surface afforded by vertical bands and pilasters, its capitals with foliage and dolphins, perforated flower garlands on the window architraves, finally luxuriant candelabras before the windows of the principal story, these are the elements composing this charming work. One notes here, how in the ground story and the low mezzanine over it in correct taste is drawn all ornament in the most delicate relief, while in the upper parts more distant from the eyes prevails a treatment in fuller relief. The hedgehog and the L indicate the time of Louis XII; Gothic niches with finials at the angles, whose statues were destroyed by the Revolution, are the only decided mediaeval reminiscences.

In this time also belongs the magnificent and grand segmental arches, that from the simple and dry late Gothic clock tower, the belfry, span the street. The picturesque effect of the whole is yet enhanced by the fanciful ornament in graceful Renaissance forms.

#### 19. Ducal palace at Nancy.

With the most splendid examples of this transition style is also counted the old ducal palace at Nancy, the former capital of Lorraine. A native artist, M. Gauvain, erected it in the beginning of the 16th century and sculptured in 1512 for the main portal the equestrian statue of duke Anton, that was destroyed in 1792, but was recently replaced by a new one. The stately one story building built of ashlar extends to a considerable length on the south side of the Grande Rue, and receives its principal ornamentation by a magnificent portal, that belongs to the richest creations of this time. All the luxury of the flamboyant style combines with the charming ornaments of the Renaissance in an entirety, that even seeks its like in this epoch. According to the general custom of the time the portal consists of a wide entrance spanned by a segmental arch and a small low doorway for persons on foot. Renaissance pilasters covered by arabesques form the enclosure, from which



risers the Gothic profile of the arch, the ogee gable with crockets and crossflower with similarly adorned finials. Over the narrow doorway are seen in the tympanum two armed travelers, but on the contrary in the tympanum of the main portal in the niche with segmental arch decorated by a small pointed arch, is the equestrian statue of the duke. The high pointed tympanum filled by a fancifully notched arch is built above it, richly beset by crockets and crossflower, and over it finally rises a high ornament, on which the Renaissance takes the supremacy with its pilasters and arabesques with arched niches filled with shells, to finally be again terminated by a high ogee Gothic arch. This upper crowning, although conceived as mediaeval, is translated into Renaissance forms, particularly the finials and the other additions originally transformed into candelabras. Hence these works belong with those, in which the mixture of both essentially different elements, indeed in all their sportive caprice, but also with an overpowering ornamental magnificence appears .

At both sides of the portal are seen windows in the upper story with projecting polygonal balconies, that rest on consoles in the mediaval way and their balustrades are composed of vesica patterns. In the interior one enters directly a great hall and from this the great court of the palace, that still shows a part of its old columnar arcades. From the hall one of the most convenient and widest winding stairs with numerous resting benches in the deep window recesses leads to the upper storw. This consists of a single hall of imposing length with a carved horizontal wooden ceiling and two magnificent fireplaces. This hall is called the "gallery of the deer", and originally served for the great assembly of the nobles of Lorraine. Together with the lower rooms it is now arranged as a historical museum, and among other monuments preserves a magnificent tapestry captured in the tent of Charles the Bold on the day of the battle of Nancy.

#### 20. Tombs.

We meet with a master of Gaillon in the magnificent tomb, that queen Anne caused to be erected for the last duke of Brittany, Francis II. By an inscription it is designated as the work of M. Columb, who completed it in the year 1507. Entirely



constructed of marble of different colors, it bears the reclining statues of duke Francis and of his last wife, Marguerite de Foix, in the wide ducal mantle and with the crown on the head. After the mediæval custom, angels support the cushions on which they rest, and at their feet lie a lion and a greyhound with the arms of the deceased. At the four corners of the monument, that is built in the form of a mediæval sarcophagus, stand the statues of the four cardinal virtues. The surfaces of the monument are treated with niches between elegant pilasters, that contain statuets of the 12 apostles. Beneath them are found medallions with relief portraits of the mourners. Also here prevails a refined decorative taste.

A small but charming tomb of this time is seen in the cathedral of Tours. It was erected for two early deceased children of Charles VIII, Charles of Orleans, who died in 1495 at the age of 3 years and 3 months, and Charles II, who died in the following year at the age of 25 days. It consists of one marble sarcophagus entirely covered by fine arabesques. On it rest the charming and innocent forms of the children, for which two small and most beautiful angels with inmost resignation hold the cushions, while at the feet are two similar ones with the arms of the deceased. This graceful work is the creation of the excellent master J. Juste of Tours.

Finally belongs here as one of the greatest pieces of magnificence, the tomb that George of Amboise, nephew and successor of the before mentioned cardinal caused to be erected for his uncle and himself in the choir of the cathedral of Rouen. We know that P. Valence of Tours, whom we knew from the accounts of Gaillon, was first entrusted with this; when he declined, R. de Roux obtained the execution of the work, that was completed in 1525. Roullant (i.e., Roland) was a master much employed otherwise; he worked on the palace of justice, the principal portal of the cathedral and on the new tower. He belongs to the artists, that knew how to combine the inexhaustible imagination of the middle ages with the forms of the new style. The monument is erected in a wall recess against the side wall of the choir. Six small niches with seated statues of the virtues between pilasters, that are adorned in the most luxuriant manner, form the substructure. On the slab covering the same

are represented the two prelates at life size and kneeling behind each other. The rear wall contains in niches between elegant pilasters statues of saints, with S. George slaying the dragon at the middle. Above the kneeling figures is arched a canopy, whose curved soffit is ornamented by rosettes and foliage in gold and azure. Three perforated and suspended pendants terminate the arches. Its crowning consists first of a frieze with arabesques and most charming nude children, above being niches adorned by pilasters with statuettes of the apostles and other saints. Finally are formed six pyramidal additions in the Gothic sense, but with garlands, children, shell work and all sorts of fanciful figures, forming a conclusion of the incomparably magnificent work. One cannot place any severe criticism on the composition of the whole; but the inexhaustible wealth of imagination, the playful lightness of the execution produces a charm, to which the observer willingly yields himself.

## Chapter III. Renaissance under Francis I.

## A. Royal chateaus.

## 21. Chateau at Blois.

If the new style of architecture before could only show itself in certain attempts, in which the Gothic style everywhere made itself felt, then with the accession of Francis I to the throne (1515), the Renaissance won a new impulse, that ever more and more repressed medieval traditions, and finally assisted the new style in a complete victory. The king was himself one of the princes most devoted to art, that has ever lived, and found in his long reign (till 1547) abundant opportunity to satisfy his love of building. We shall survey the series of the chateaus erected or completed by him, whose number, extent and magnificence arouse astonishment.

To the earliest of these buildings belong the works of the completion of the chateau of Blois. His predecessor (S. 15) had rebuilt the eastern wing in the splendid mixed forms of the transition style; Francis I erected the northern wing with still greater magnificence and in the forms of a noble Renaissance. The court facade (Fig. 29) is without question the most beautiful and richest work, which the early Renaissance has to show in France. It consists of a low ground story with rectangular windows enclosed by pilasters with capitals like Corinthian. Above this rise two upper stories, the first of which is distinguished by greater height, both with windows divided by stone crossbars in medieval fashion. All windows are flanked by pilasters like Corinthian, and these pilasters are connected together by a continuous vertical division, so that the horizontal belts on the entire building with the vertical members form a complete framework, that is everywhere repeated in the early French Renaissance, and whose monotony is removed in this case by the rich and refined ornamentation. Then the pilasters have not merely in the upper stories a border of rosettes and elegant capitals of that graceful form, that are also common in the early Italian Renaissance, but the larger wall panels exhibit richer ornamentation by the common use of the well known emblem of Francis I, a crowned salamander surrounded by flames. The termination is formed by the magnificent crowning cornice, that combines its principal forms with antique and

medieval motives for the highest effect; for it commences with a dentil frieze and rich cornice with consoles, but adds above these the piped fascia and the egg moulding of the latter the Romanesque round-arched frieze, whose arched openings are ornamented by small shells. Finally there rises above the bold moulding of the gutter, that does not lack the medieval gargoyles, an entirely perforated balustrade (Fig. 14), between whose piers and little columns like candelabras appear the initials of the king and his first wife Claude, ornamented by crowns and interlaced by ropes. Over this termination, a true triumph of the stonemason's art, are corresponding to the divisions of the facade, rise the dormers with their refined arabesque enclosures, and the crowning conceived in the Gothic sense, but executed in Renaissance forms.

But the unsurpassed masterpiece of the entire building is the famous stairway (Fig. 29), that is placed in an octagonal staircase originally projecting exactly at the middle of the facade. This relation was later disturbed by the building of Gaston, who destroyed a portion of the beautiful design of Francis I. It is one of the most magnificent stairways of the Renaissance, arranged in an octagonal addition as a stairs winding about a novel entirely moulded as Gothic, with a diameter of 13 ft. in the clear. Externally bold piers and straight arches of wide spans form a freely opened framework, within which the inclined landings are developed as balconies with richly ornamented balustrades. The highest luxury of execution is concentrated on these parts; the lower parts of the piers are covered by the finest arabesques, beside which are visible arms, emblems and the initials of the king and queen. There further appear statues of allegorical figures on richly sculptured consoles, beneath canopies with Gothic elevations and Renaissance details. Finally the balustrades in the lower story with supports like candelabras, in the upper adorned by salamanders and the letter F in the finest ornamentation; the upper termination is here formed by the main cornice and its noble balustrade. Then follows a terrace on which the stairway ends and behind it is a crowning upper story, octagonal but of smaller diameter, that again closes with a lavishly rich roof cornice of very original composition and a perforated balustrade, at the middle

rising an elegant and slender added gable as a crowning, similar to the dormers but again a new variation. In a word: on this wonderful work in architecture is an originality in composition, a spirited freshness of invention, an artistic refinement in execution, that nowhere again has its equal in this art.

The interior of the stairway is no less of the rarest magnificence and richest execution. The wall piers are formed by noble pilasters, the inclined ceiling is divided by Gothic ribs, in whose intersections appear rosettes of the most elegant work. The newel is covered by precious arabesques on the narrow surfaces between the Gothic rounds, the upper vaulted termination of the stairway is decorated with special refinement. But before all the openings of the portals with rare luxuriance in the separate stories, ornamented by salamanders and noble arabesques in sportive charm.

The internal arrangement of the upper stories consists of two series of larger and smaller rooms, that are neither characterized by particular size nor by unusual height -- the latter does not exceed 15 ft. Yet rather unusual for this time is the double row of rooms, which originated because a new wall was built at the outside at a distance of 16 ft. from the old outer wall. Both walls have a thickness exceeding 5 ft.; the middle part enclosing a rectangular tower is even 6.6 ft. Thereby are formed those deep window recesses on the exterior, which lend these rooms a special charm. Before several of these rooms open polygonal balconies externally, that likewise afford the narrow rooms like a corridor a freer view. Nearly at the end of this wing is arranged a little chapel with a polygonal projecting choir. Finally an open passage on arches was placed around the old tower belonging to the older building, arranged at the top like a balcony. By the masterly restoration by Duban it has been brought into nearly its original condition. The richly painted wooden ceilings with their carved beams, the large and magnificent mantles, the glazed tiles of the floors, are faithfully restored according to the old patterns.

We finally have to glance at the long northern facade (Fig. 30). It properly exhibits a similar treatment, and more strict adherence to the Italian style. The facade rises in its entire length from the irregular rocky ground, indeed so that its wes-

western half has one story less than the eastern. The latter begins with a ground story of coupled and arched windows with crossbars, instead of which the western portion only shows heavy substructures. Then follow for the entire length of the building two stories of equal heights, whose windows are placed in arched recesses like loggias. By the arches of this arcade as well as by many other details, one recognizes that here two different conditions adjoin; the western half has depressed basket arches, the eastern merely a segment of a round arch, the last form less pleasing as being less organic than the former, both indeed required in the northern Renaissance by the small height of the stories. Enclosing the separate systems forms pilasters below and above, whose capitals vary from Corinthian forms with true Florentine refinement. If anywhere, there may be surmised on this facade the influence of an Italian architect. The round-arched frieze with shells forms the termination of this facade, that makes one part of the magnificent main cornice of the court facade. One must wonder at the fine taste with which this simpler form is chosen for the exterior, above the light arched walls. Above the cornice rises yet a story with short and stumpy Ionic columns on stylobates, connected by a balustrade, and whose form on the eastern half is that of a short and small Corinthian pilaster, while simpler on the western side.

The long extent of this facade is broken by the polygonal balconies, partly constructed as open projections, partly as enclosed bay windows. They develop in mediæval fashion from corbels set diagonally with little supporting figures and richly subdivided bases. They have gargoyles of fanciful forms at the angles, on the balustrades are scenes from antique mythology in relief, on the piers are graceful ornaments, consisting of emblems and arabesques. Besides the pilasters of the principal story in the western building are also richly decorated, while <sup>those</sup> in the other parts are left plain. Further the balustrades of the principal story exhibit the initials of the king and his queen as well as the emblems of both, the carved salamander in flames for the king, the lilies and the swan struck through by an arrow for the queen. If we add thereto that the niches of the loggias gleam with gold and azure in the splendid

decoration by color, then we have an approximate conception of the magnificence also of these yet simpler parts.

As for the date of the building, it appears from the emblems that its various parts were executed before the death of the queen Claude (1525). Since the eastern part of the exterior is evidently later than the western, and since both were begun later than the court facade, we shall indeed be justified in placing the commencement of the building back in the beginning of the reign of the king.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the chateau of Blois experienced the regrettable transformation by Gaston of Orleans, brother of Louis XIII, who from 1635 to 1660 caused Mansart to tear down the western wing and replace it by the pompous but insipid structure now still to be seen. The Revolution exercised its love of destruction on this magnificent building, and it did not lack much, that in the year 1793 with so many other important monuments, it was nearly brought to the level of the ground. Later the chateau was degraded into barracks, and only since 1841 it passed through the splendid restoration by F. Duban, by which one is now surprised.

## 22. Chateau of Chambord.

If one desires to treasure the wealth of ideas, the variety of the inventions of this creative time, he must consider the extreme diversity in plan and construction of the separate chateaus. If the ornamental forms did not speak with certainty, then would one scarcely believe, that the capricious chateau of Chambord was erected at the same time and for the same princes as the noble building of Blois. Chambord lies several miles distant from Blois and from the Loire in a desert and sandy country, whose impression is the more miserable, when one has scarcely left the smiling banks of the Loire. Only the love of hunting of Francis I gave occasion to build in this desert such a grand chateau. It rises like a mirage in a now waste and forested enclosure of considerable extent surrounded by a wall. Already in the early middle ages there lay here a little hunting lodge of the count of Blois, in the vicinity of which the mother of Francis I inhabited the chateau of Romorantin. The king retained a strong attachment to the localities of his youth, and began about 1526 the erection of this mighty chateau.

The construction is colossal and powerful, entirely of great ash-lars, the entire building from west to east being about 400 ft. wide by 275 ft. deep, exclusive of the towers. It is as if the entire imagination of the middle ages had again arisen against the penetrating new spirit, and had obstinately and capriciously opposed itself to the Renaissance by this colossal creation, an attempt which appears the more interesting, since it is executed with the forms of the details of the Renaissance (Fig. 31).

The plan of the whole (Fig. 32) agrees so accurately with the arrangement of the mediaeval castles, that it even adopts the colossal principal tower or keep, isolated from the other buildings; only this is transformed for the modern customs of life, and by severely symmetrical and regular plan of the whole makes a concession to the new spirit. The building forms a great rectangle flanked by towers of 40 ft. diameter. Each of these towers shows a different subdivision of the interior, while this substantially consists of one or two large living rooms with a cabinet, wardrobe and a separate stairs with an entrance. Likewise the front wing, to which a drawbridge leads across the moat, like the two side wings, is divided into a number of living rooms, each of which is connected with a wardrobe, but is separated from the rooms at its sides and has its own entrance. What value was placed on this arrangement of the interior in the chateaus of the time is shown by Rabelais in the description of the abbey of the Thelmites, and is further proved by most of the chateaus then originating. The three wings of the chateau considered above have only a ground story and are covered above by a terrace. Only the northern halves of the two side wings adjoining the main building have an upper story. The fourth side in two stories over the ground story with arcades forms the connection with the principal building. In the two outer angles these arcades extend in semicircles, that are built as an open framework around great winding stairways. Both winding stairs extend to the attic, where they end in domes with slender lanterns. Their exteriors are decorated by pilasters in the three lower stories, by slender hermes in the uppermost story, that are not finished but are only rough hewn. Of these two stairways only the eastern,



that leads to the living rooms of Francis I, is of the first building epoch, while the western dates from the time of Henry II. On this as well as on the upper story of the adjacent wing, the details are also by far not so finely executed, but are rather heavy and stumpy, with rudely employed emblems of lilies and projecting columns.

The most commendable part of the whole is the middle building arranged in the form of a keep, a square of 140 ft. flanked by 4 round towers of about 62 ft. diameter. In the centre of this building rises independently on 8 mighty buttresses the famous double winding stairway, so arranged that those descending it need not meet those ascending. With its opened flying buttresses and slender lantern, on whose apex rises a colossal lily, it towers in the air to an imposing height above the roofs of the surrounding parts and the towers, sharply detached in the splendid white limestone from the blue sky. Around this principal stairway lies a great hall in the form of a Greek cross, or rather four halls repeated in each story, each with two fireplaces, that in an intelligent manner are not placed opposite each other, in order to make communications easier. These halls are covered by mighty tunnel vaults in massive stone construction, in whose coffers are seen in manifold variations the salamander and the initial of the king. In proportion to the width of the halls the vaults are somewhat depressed, being executed as oval vaults, yet may thereby have produced an impression of comfort in the occupants.

The four corners of the middle building lying between the arms of the cross as well as the adjacent towers are again divided into separate living apartments, each of which consists of a larger living room, cabinet and wardrobe. The principal room in the southwest tower is the chapel of the chateau. All these living rooms have their separate entrances in little winding stairs, but are again directly connected with the great hall, that on its part again in general is accessible by the principal stairway and by side galleries carried on the towers that connect with the two outside wings. A larger chapel is arranged in the outer tower of the northwest angle. This is briefly the subdivision of the chateau, to which cannot be refused the testimony, that it corresponds admirably

to the requirement of the life of this time, although these are forced wonderfully enough into the forms of a departed epoch of civilization.

Now as for what concerns the artistic treatment, this consists almost exclusively of elements like the antique as at Blois. The principal parts of the building show three stories, animated by windows with single or double cross bars. The windows have horizontal lintels, excepting the three round-arched windows that light the middle hall in the upper story. The subdivision of the walls is formed in all three stories by a vertical system of vertically connected pilasters and horizontal belts. Although now on their capitals the most varied invention and most delicate treatment of the reliefs makes itself felt, yet all this does not sufficiently animate the severe monotony of the subdivision, that extends in tedious sameness over the entire building. Even the rich crowning cornice, that indeed repeats the chief motive of the beautiful cornices of Blois, consoles and round-arched frieze, but not in such organic combination, and an allied rather too ornamental balustrade, are unable to remove that impression.

But the monotony becomes even more perceptible by the excessive abundance with which the high roofs of the middle building and of the towers with their lanterns, with the exhaustive dormers in mere variations, and their tall crowning gables, likewise the chimney caps executed in the most varied forms, and finally the principal stairway with its fanciful lantern towering over all else, are overloaded. As by the most complicated Gothic buildings, the eyes are completely bewildered by this excess, and the unprejudiced observer must confess, that an architecture which awards the prize to the chief parts of the construction or to sobriety, in order to raise subordinate parts to the greatest unsuitability, turns its back on beauty as well as truth. Wonderful enough is still another decorative element exclusively employed on the pilasters and cornices of the bay dormers, as well as the chimneys of the stair towers; the numerous trapezoids, circles, semicircles and triangles inlaid in dark slate in the surfaces, that makes the richness of those parts still more glaring. It is well known that this is an ornament that only serves Venetian art and that of upper

Italy dependent upon it.

Manifestly we have to do with the work of an architect, who came from a native school but desired to give proof, that he was a complete master of the new style, and was able to wrest from it the fanciful charm of medieval architecture. As recent investigations proved, this architect was P. Nepveu, called t Tringean, who was expressly designated as master of the works at "the chateau of Chambord." Moreover Chambord was never entirely completed. We already refer to some parts executed later. The ground story everywhere shows the refined forms of the time of Francis I, also the entire principal building of the north-east wing occupied by the king himself. The upper story of the northwest wing on the contrary exhibits a later time by its more stumpy forms and the ruder execution. Besides Henry II, Louis XIV. caused the building to be extended further by Mansart. The chateau was devastated in the Revolution like so many others. Not merely was the magnificent furnishing destroyed or stolen, but the rich fireplaces were torn down and broken, and even the costly tapestries of Arras were burned to recover the gold and silver threads. There is now in the interior not a vestige of the old splendor; only the vaults of the great hall and certain rooms with depressed arches but erected in the most solid construction, show in their coffered reliefs of extreme refinement. The great chapel in the outer tower is earnest and simple in two stories decorated by wall columns.

### 23. Chateau Madrid or Boulogne.

A great<sup>er</sup> contrast in the same time will scarcely be found than chateau Madrid in comparison to Chambord. Francis I caused it to be erected in the vicinity of Paris in the middle of the forest of Boulogne about since 1523. It generally received the name of Madrid, not that it was really so named, but in memory of the captivity of the king or even in imitation of a chateau found in the vicinity of the capital of Spain; but more probable is the opinion, that this nickname originated by the satire of the courtiers, when the king with a few intimate companions withdrew from the court to live in their society in the chateau of the forest of Boulogne. Of this magnificent building, arranged and furnished with the most refined sense of art, no stone remains on another. The Revolution leveled it with the

ground. Only to the drawings of du Cerceau do we owe an accurate knowledge of it.

Chateau Madrid was what the French term a manor, i.e., a small country residence erected without towers and keep, that as a rule also lacked the court. It was entirely so with this chateau (Fig. 34). It formed a rectangle of 250 ft. wide by 95 ft. deep. At the four angles rose projecting square pavilions; two square stairway towers divided the two longer facades into three equal parts, while a round stair tower rose at the middle of each end. Between these stairway towers and the pavilions were arranged arcades on piers with projecting half columns in the two principal stories, sufficiently spacious to permit easy communication, but not so deep as to destroy the light in the windows furnished with double cross bars. The middle parts of the two principal facades has in its entire width a flight of steps A, that leads to a strongly recessed arched passage of considerable depth (12 ft.). This stately portico forms the entrance to the great hall, that with its length of about 65 ft. and width of 23 ft. occupied the entire middle portion of the plan. This hall with its arcader is repeated in the upper principal story. Then follows a smaller story, whose rooms are connected together by the terrace resting on the lower arcades; finally a fourth story of moderate height like the preceding, also like that contained guest rooms. Besides there was a low ground story, half in the ground and covered by massive vaults, which comprised the kitchens and other housekeeping and service rooms. With true intelligence the architect so orientated the building, that the main fronts did not exactly face the north and south; thereby the hall and most other rooms had a refreshing coolness in summer and much sunshine in the colder season.

Corresponding to the customs of the time, the arrangement of the interior was in careful utility. The great hall B was heated by two magnificent fireplaces, and had at one end a smaller hall B' that served the king, when he desired to withdraw from the society. In this hall rose at C a great fireplace, behind which was arranged a passage D and a stairway  $\frac{1}{2}$  in the wall, by which one could unseen reach a room like a chapel lying over this part. These two rooms together had the height of the

main hall, which amounted to about 22 ft. This side hall was further connected with the external arcades by separate entrances. The remaining parts of the two principal stories were intended for separate apartments. In each wing are found some great chambers F with fireplaces, each connected with a wardrobe H, partly arranged in the corner pavilion and throughout fully connected together, and with the porticos. Each of these living apartments could be separated from the others; each was in direct connection with the portico G and the stairway I, as well as with the main hall, so that the occupant without being seen could go out or in. The connection of the rooms was thus as pleasant and convenient as possible; the architect then adhered strictly to the coincidence of the axes of the windows and arches in the middle portion, though not rigidly to the rule for the wings. On the other hand he placed the doors of the apartments close to the windows, so as to obtain as much unbroken wall surface as possible. Finally it is yet to be noted, that also in the open porticos the force of the wind was interrupted as much as possible by the projecting stairway towers. This chateau must thus be termed a model of a princely country seat of that time.

The elevation of the whole, whose middle portion we give in Fig. 35, shows a combination of Italian and French conceptions, that is here as successful as it failed in Chambord. The high roofs that cover each principal portion, the domical terminations of the winding stairways, the dormer windows of the mansard story, and the great chimney caps belong to the national traditions, but they were reduced to the measure of the need, and did not become objects of a fanciful hobby. Likewise the windows with their stone crosses and the construction of the vaults belong to the native architecture, all else on the contrary was imitated from the Italian Renaissance with free understanding. This is true of the arcades with their elegant piers and columns, their richly profiled and coffered arches and their medallion panels, of the elegantly ornamented friezes and the varied architraves of the windows, by which each story has its separate character, and finally of the crowning of the doors, that mostly exhibit a pediment with reclining figures. The most splendid decoration was received by the building by

the rich use of glazed and colored terra cotta, for which G. della Robbia was expressly brought from Florence. This magnificent ornamentation was employed on the friezes of the principal story and the medallions of the arcades, as well as on the coffers of the ceilings of the porticos and on the floors. Du cerceau gives some examples of the coffer plaques, that for beauty of drawing and richness of invention are wonderful. Meanwhile when the learned Viollet-le-Duc expresses the judgment, that this use of glazed terra cotta on the exteriors of buildings is a new idea due to Francis I, he forgets among others the facades of the Innocents at Florence, of the hospital at Pistoja, and most of all the oratory of S. bernardino at Perugia.

Also for this building it is strongly disputed, whether it is due to an Italian or a native architect. Thanks to recent investigations, we know that it was a Frenchman, P. Gadier, who designed and executed the building. Count de la Laborde unjustly reduces the honest "master mason" to a mere practical superintendent of works when he states:- "G. della Robbia was the artistic creator, the man of genius and taste, P. Gadier was the subordinate workman, but in reality the actual constructor." This hypothesis vanishes completely in the air; even Vasari knows only of the terra cotta and stucco work with which della Robbia adorned the building. All these works that in great part belonged to the interior, du Cerceau gives in abundant examples. He has represented the two fireplaces of the great hall with the door lying between them, the great state fireplace of the side hall and also several fireplaces of the different rooms. In these are not merely surprising the richness of the decoration, the lavish use of sculpture and painting, the diversity of arrangement, but even a conceivably prominent preference for pompous, even for Barocco forms. Particularly came into use caryatids in very ugly forms like hermes. However since the internal decoration was first composed after the death of Francis I by P. de l'Orme and later by Primaticcio, we must assign a portion of these works to this later time. We shall only remark, that the richer fireplaces have above them a great niche with a pediment intended for a statue, but on the contrary others a panel evidently designed for a painting. On one fireplace this is adorned by a painting of the abduction of Europa.

P. Gadier died in 1581; he was succeeded by G. Francois and his son Jean, thus both were Frenchmen. Also de l'Orme employed a native faience artist, P. Courtois, from the famous workshops of Limoges. Primaticcio first caused della Robbia to come again. In any case no other building can give such a view of the intimate life of its art-loving princely builder.

#### 24. Chateau of Fontainebleau.

Most perceptibly is found the influence and the cooperation of Italian artists at the chateau, that may be regarded as one of the most important principal works of this epoch, the favorite creation of Francis I. Fontainebleau was already in the 12 th century a royal castle, that owed its origin to the hunts in the neighboring great forest, still one of the most beautiful in France. Louis VII caused a chapel to be built there in honor of S. Maria and S. Saturnin. S. Louis founded a second chapel to the holy Trinity and a hospital close to his castle, to the service of which he called the Mathurin monks in 1259. Fontainebleau was early the seat of a royal library, that later became the basis of the great library of Paris. But Francis I first elevated the mediaeval castle to a royal palace, that sought its equal in extent as in magnificence of furnishing. If one considers the plan of this immense building, whose extent in length amounts to about 1476 ft. (Fig. 36), he sees by its irregularity, that the so-called oval court A forms the oldest part of the building. This court is surrounded at the left by a double series of rooms, while the right side is chiefly enclosed by a double chapel D with polygonal ending (S. Saturnin) and a hall C, the "so-called gallery of Henry II." In du Cerceau's time the termination was formed by an oval hall close to the chapel (J in Fig. 41), from which by a drawbridge one passed over the then existing moat into the building H, which later under Henry IV was extended into three wings enclosing a nearly square court of 279 ft. by 253 ft. Henry IV also lengthened the oval court, when he extended it farther to E beside the chapel and on the opposite side. Another enlargement likewise belongs to a later time, that consists of the group J of buildings, which at the left of the oval court extends around the "court of the princes", and whose front wing K contains the "gallery of Diana", 295 ft long. If we return

to the oval court as the centre of the plan, we find there in the middle of the front end a square tower E, the old keep, whose walls and the adjacent parts were retained from the earlier mediaeval plan. Before this older part of the court lies in the ground story an open arcade on columns, that were connected by an architrave. Above them is found in the upper story a terrace for connecting the rooms. At the former entrance into the northern rooms, this arcade is interrupted by a projecting building in two stories, resting on piers with half columns like a loggia. Its arches (Fig. 37) are partly semicircular, partly of depressed form, like the other parts that show a tolerable understanding, and therewith a free imitation of the antique style of architecture.

If in these parts the retention of the old plan caused the irregularity of the ground plan, the regularity of all other portions shows that they were built anew. First was added to the older portions, particularly to that square tower of the middle ages, another wing N corresponding to the longitudinal axis of the whole, that continued toward the north a series of rooms with the "gallery of Francis I" on the south, 191 ft. long. at the end of this and at the right angle projects a transverse structure, that on the left contains the entirely rebuilt chapel of the Trinity O, adjoining which are several living apartments and a hall T for playing ball, at the right being the stately arranged living apartments P, to which Pius VII was assigned as quarters during his imprisonment. Before the middle of this transverse building 433 ft. in length lies the famous horseshoe ramp steps R.

Corresponding to this western wing was erected at the other end of the gallery of Francis I a third wing L with a double flight of steps, that contained the theatre. The southern side court originated in this way, and is called "court of the fountains" because on its longitudinal axis is a splendid point of view from the gallery of Francis I is a fountain and the basin of a great fishpond. But with this enormous extent that encloses four courts, the construction was not yet completed. Francis I already added a fifth court S, the "court of the white horse", so-called because its centre was occupied for a long time by the plaster model of the horse of the equestrian stat-



statue of M. Aurelius. It is the largest of all, 541 ft. deep by 361 ft. wide, enclosed by low wings, that consist of a ground story and attic, to which is added an upper story at the south side. At the middle and the angles of this wing rise pavilions with high roofs to break the uniformity. We add thereto that extensive beds of flowers, parks and magnificent alleys of trees, pools and fountains then already surround the whole, so that an approximate idea of the extent of this grand residence is given. Charles IX caused to be excavated a deep moat around the principal parts of the chateau on the occasion of a peasants' war, which separated the outer court from the principal building, so that one formerly passed by a drawbridge to the main stairway. Du Cerceau draws this moat, that however was later filled.

If one now without prejudice compares this famous building to other chateaus of Francis I, he must admit, that it nowise corresponds to the fame enjoyed by it since earlier times. Extending more in length and breadth than in height, it nowhere presents to the eye a mighty total impression. It is not so fanciful as Chambord, but rather borders on a certain insipidity; it has not the graceful charm of the relief details of Blois, nor the picturesque ones of Madrid, but the refined treatment of forms inclines to dryness. With the exception of a few pavilions, all parts of the building have but one story above the ground story, and even the attic story, such a favorite in France, was not employed here throughout; but where where they occur, their windows show a more severe treatment more like the antique with straight or curved caps, far removed from the fanciful diversity at Blois and Chambord. In brief, the luxuriant play of the early Renaissance is at an end, with Fontainebleau begins the predominance of Italian influence. Connected with this, the stairways here are mostly no longer arranged as winding stairs in projecting towers, but are placed in the interior of the building.

Mostly the fresh charm of the earlier time appears in the porticos of the oval court. Particularly the capitals vary in charming invention; crouching children form the angles, while the surfaces are filled by the initial of Francis I, by crowned salamanders, festoons of fruits or elegant acanthus leaves.

(Fig. 19). Likewise the capitals of the pilasters on the great tower and on the dormers exhibit diversified invention. The same treatment is repeated on the so-called "pavilion of Maintenance" B, where moreover for the first time two stories are represented as one by means of colossal pilasters. Ugly enough are the intersections of the gabled caps of the lower windows with the parapets of the upper ones. The so-called "golden portal" of this pavilion, the chief portal of the chateau in the time of Francis I, opens externally with an oval arch and has a relief in its tympanum, the salamander in a medallion enclosed by garlands of fruits, accompanied by female genii at both sides. To the best parts corresponds the southern facade of the oval court, which contains a gallery in both stories between the chapel of S. Saturnin and a winding stairway inside the facade, below for the garden and above intended for a ball room, which opens externally with colossal windows 12 ft. wide between pilasters (Fig. 33). In the upper story in a somewhat looser composition the intervals of the arches are filled by medallions with emblems of Francis I. To the stairs placed in a pavilion leads a doubled portal, low and flanked by pilasters and crowned by an antique gable, one of the earliest examples of this kind, whose effect is placed in question by the wonderful middle ornament of the great figures at the angles. That this facade was by no classically trained Italian architect is undoubted, but was by a French master mason, that only knew the antique by hearsay.

This style is substantially simplified on the facades of the court of the fountains. The principal facade of these, which contains the gallery of Francis I, has a ground story of rusticated piers set close together in pairs, and connected by openings like niches, but the separate groups are joined together by simple arches, whereby is produced a vivid alternation. This portico however was first built under Henry IV before the building of the time of Francis I. It is now original, that over the arches the upper wall shows a closed surface, while above the niches open between pilasters on the wall great rectangular windows. The eastern facade of the same court, before which extends the doubled steps to the theatre, exhibits an architecture of similar plain dryness, rusticated in the ground story,

in the upper story being Doric pilasters between simple windows, instead of which niches occur on the middle building. Also the dormers, developed at the middle into a dominating gabled structure, evidence a characteristic simplification of the style. (Fig. 39). Another gallery, called the "gallery of Ulysses" from its famous painting executed by Primaticcio, was later destroyed under Louis XV.

Accordingly if the exterior of Fontainebleau could not compare in refinement and richness of treatment with the other chateaus of Francis I, on the contrary all energy was placed on the decoration of the interior. For such decorations had been developed in Italy a style, that had come to the most luxuriant development by G. Romano in particular. He combined the richest use of paintings on ceilings and walls with stucco work, that exhausts every sort of creations from relief to free sculpture, with which was further combined wooden wainscot in richly carved work with splendid ornamentation in color and gilding. (Fig. 40). But this ornamentation soon degenerated into a heaviness and an overloading, of which the gallery of Francis I affords a striking example. In this confusion of details, that seem to outshout each other, these pictures that are not merely enclosed in richly carved frames, but also by garlands of fruits, by wonderful cartouche work with sportive genii, athletic human forms, by hermes and caryatids, pans, angel heads, masks, in brief by the abortions of antique and Christian mythology play around, the eyes lose their hold and roam around helplessly without finding a point for rest, from one to another. Only the curved wooden ceiling is distinguished by good subdivision and preferably by the noble style of the ornament. Certainly a palace was never erected with a greater expenditure of artistic means, and the general appearance of these extended but low galleries, that under Louis Phillipe and the new empire were again restored with unlimited expense, are of incomparable effect; but if Francis I sought to bring here the best powers of his time, then it was only his misfortune and not his fault, that this already brought with it the full decadence of Italian art.

Men have much disputed, whether the parts of the chateau erected by this king were due to French or Italian architects. The detailed decree of April 23, 1523, in which the king reg-

regulates the new buildings to be erected gives the names of no artists; yet we know that in the same year Serlio was called, and to him have therefore been directly attributed the buildings around the oval court. But the art forms there employed, particularly the columns of the arcades exhibit so much originality in treatment, that we can only regard them as the designs of French artists. Contemporary Italians had employed the fixed scholastic antique orders. Likewise in the forms of the mouldings and of other architectural members the antique forms were truly used in detail with intelligence, but were combined in such a capricious manner, and especially the pilasters were arranged to without any system, that an architect is recognized, that had indeed studied the new style of architecture, but had not attained a full understanding. The prevailing freshness and abundant imagination of the early Renaissance are no longer at command; for the severely classical treatment, that had prevailed in Italy, its architectural form does not suffice. Against Serlio's authorship is directly the fact, that in his known works is found no indication of this kind, that he subjected the ballroom to a sharp criticism, that was built without his assistance, that he had given his own design for it. On the contrary it is probable that he must be regarded as the builder of the facades of Fontainebleau, since there prevails that more scholastic, simple and severe architecture, which about that time was raised to a principle by him and other Italian theorists, with its dignified but rather dry severity. He appears as "painter and architect of the king" with important payments in the accounts of Fontainebleau until the year 1550, when he remained in employment till the end of his life. (1568)

But the same artists, who conducted the most essential part of the equipment, the decoration of the interiors and particularly of the galleries, were first the Florentine Rosso ("master Roux"), who was called about 1530, and who was engaged until his death in 1541 on the paintings and stucco work, especially those of the gallery of Francis I. But already in 1531 Primaticcio was also engaged, who was however so strongly hostile to Rosso, that the king was compelled to send him to Italy with orders for a long time, indeed we see both separated by themselves, busied together with numerous assistants. Yet

after Rosso's death Primaticcio received the sole direction of the works, when he began at once to destroy a number of the works of his predecessor. Even under the two successors of Francis I he continued active until his death in the year 1570. He was aided particularly by Niccolo the abbot, who painted the later destroyed gallery of Ulysses and the ballroom. At first there were chiefly Italian artists, who cooperated in these works. But besides them and some Flemish masters we find in the accounts a considerable number of native artists, who were designated as painters, stucco workers and sculptors. This is the school of Fontainebleau, by which the Italian taste was elevated to exclusive domination in France.

Unfortunately these Italians brought in mannerism with all its excesses, to which after Raphael's death most Italian schools gave themselves impetuously, and here in a foreign land, where their creations were wondered at as the highest manifestations, they fell into such greater barbarisms, when no restraining influence was at hand to check them. Rosso pleased himself by the imitations of Michelangelo, in dashing foreshortenings, strained poses and movements, thus Primaticcio differs still more by the affected grace of his too slender forms, in which the French yet always liked to see "Grecian charm". Considering these works full of monsters and excesses brought into being with such princely liberality and such great means, one can scarcely evade the thought, how much more tasteful results the art love of the king must have had, if A. de Santo had received the direction of these great works, instead of the deception of the monarch by their frivolity.

#### 25. Building documents of Fontainebleau.

For the architectural history of Fontainebleau, a series of documents are of importance, the merit of having published them being due to count De Laborde. We find a decree of the king of July 23, 1523, in which Francis I expresses the intention to cause to be erected several buildings in Fontainebleau and in the forest of Boulogne. Another royal order of Aug. 1 of the same year, dated at Fontainebleau like the former, repeats the contents of the first and extends them to "two other places of Livry". But of most importance is the longest and also the earliest of these decrees, given on April 23, 1523. It contains

the most exact instructions for the dimensions, form and execution of the new building and takes care in fixing certain points in such detail, that not merely the dimensions of the separate rooms and the kinds of materials to be used, as well as to be intelligible or itself, and are exactly fixed, but even the thickness of the walls and the degree of reduction in the upper stories, the forms of the different architectural members, and even the arrangement of the privies with their seats and openings for removal are prescribed. One recognizes with increasing interest from the detailed statements, how the building was the matter lying close to the king's heart, and can follow the progress of the work step by step. Sometimes it is said in general expressions, that this or that part in the statement shall be executed "in the best" or "according to the best judgment of the master", or "as it belongs". But as a rule the wishes of the king are stated in detail and exactly. For example it is said of the external piers, that they shall be "ornamented by capitals in good fashion". Of the wall piers it says; "which will be furnished with counter pillars bearing base and capital, architrave, frieze, cornice and pediment, as it requires".

The construction begins (Fig. 41) at the south side of the oval court A by the removal of the lod portal, instead of which is to be erected a new one (the present "golden portal"), in a square pavilion B, whose dimensions are accurately given. The number of rooms required and the thickness of the walls are fixed, but on the other hand the heights of the rooms and the width of the portal hall are left freely to the judgment of the architect; "that will be done for the best". Likewise the two smaller pavilions, which enclose the longer one are accurately designated with the dormers. The view that du Corréau gives of this side agrees perfectly with the description. Only the portico of four columns, that was to rise before the pavilion in three stories, in the two first stories with horizontal entablatures, in the uppermost with depressed arches, was not constructed. Toward the court side should then be built a winding stairway of 10 ft. diameter in the angle between the pavilion and the part adjoining it at the east. Also the portal of this stairway is exactly prescribed; it is that represented

in Fig. 38 as still existing. Beside the great stairs shall be arranged a smaller one for the privies. Both are seen on our plan. Then the defective parts of the old walls are to be torn down and new are to be built. Between the portal pavilion and the keep C of the old castle (the old great tower) shall be erected two "apartments for guests" with two chambers, wardrobes and a hall in each story. Then are to be rebuilt the three apartments D, E, F, at that side of the old tower, that are intended for the residence of the royal children, with halls, chambers and wardrobes in three stories. The outer walls to be retained, but improved. At the end of this residence is to be erected a pavilion H about 24 ft. square, like the first near the portal and like the old tower. Further four winding stairs are required in the court, that however could not all have been executed, or were soon thereafter partly suppressed by new buildings, since du cerceau does not show so many stairways.

Furthermore shall be built near the old tower a semicircle corbelled out on projecting stones (see the plan) and a winding stairway, that leads down outside to the garden. We learn that the living room of the queen lay in this part. Likewise from the rooms of the king must a stairway lead into the garden. Then is required a terrace on four columns in order to mask the entrance into the hall of the garden and the dwelling of the prince. This is doubtless that stately vestibule H in two stories, a portion of which we have given in Fig. 37.

However the most interesting part of the plan is that portion designated as the "great apartments for guests", which must contain a great hall below for the guard, above for balls. The dimensions fixed for it, 84 by 40 ft., actually agree with the dimensions of the hall L now known as the "gallery of Henry II". (Fig. 33). From this hall must a winding stairway lead down to the garden, and beside it is to be left a space 36 ft. wide for the arrangement of a chapel K. If was now required between this place of a chapel and the portal pavilion to have a "series of apartments for guests" with four service rooms, two kitchens and a robing room for the sacristy, then we can only understand that originally was intended a different arrangement, than what the plan now shows. In any case the chapel of S. Saturnin was undertaken later, for the keystone of the vault of its choir

drawn by Pfnor indicates that the chapel was completed in 1545 under Francis I. Serlio speaks fully of the ballroom and indeed in a disapproving manner. He states that in the second court of the palace on which extend the royal apartments, was arranged a loggia, which at one side looks on the court and at the other on a great garden. At one side of it are the princelings' apartments, at the other is a chapel. He continues, "this loggia is so arranged that it has five arches 12 ft. wide and the piers are 6 ft. thick, but I cannot say to what order this architecture belongs". He further tells, that for 30 ft. width of the room and a height of 16 ft., it was desired to vault it, and was already commenced with the corbels, when a man of influence and with more judgment than the mason came there, he ordered the corbels to be removed and a wooden ceiling to be arranged. He adds, "but I was then present in the pay of the high-minded king Francis, although not in the least consulted, I made a design how I should have erected the loggia." And now he gives his design in plan, elevation and section, and a view of this severe and nobly treated Doric portico with piers and great arched windows, which at once shows the great difference in treatment by an Italian architect and the works that were executed at Fontainebleau. As already stated, it is thereby incontestably proved, that only a French architect, one that but superficially made the antique forms his own, without knowing their systematic use as this had become common after 1500 in Italy, who could have designed the buildings in question. Who made the sketches we never find; as constructing master we learn to recognize Gilles de Breton, "mason, stonecutter, living at Paris". Indeed he need not be the author of the design. After Aug. 1, 1527, this Gilles is already in the old abbey of the Mathurins, which Francis purchased in order to get him into his works, as well as to engage him on the service dwellings of the outer (lower) court and the porter's lodge. Also on Feb. 13, 1534, he received payments for buildings in those parts. With him exclusively was a bargain made on the basis of the extended programme of the buildings in 1528. We only have to add, that also the great gallery of Francis I at M is mentioned in this programme. For it is required a length of 192 ft. and a width of 13 ft. It is decided to extend from



the old tower to the abbey and to provide a chapel at its end. This is doubtless the chapel of the Trinity at N. In the years 1537 to 1540 Gilles worked on the "apartments for guests and the pavilion," and then "between the lower court and the cloister of the abbey". Serlio appears as "painter and architect of the king" first on Dec. 27, 1541, and receives 400 livres as payment for the year.

The remaining notices in the rich extracts from the building accounts in great part concern the internal decoration, whose splendor is stated to have sought its equal in Europe at that time. Most relate to the apartments of the king and queen. Only to emphasize the most important dates, there are mentioned after 1538 "terms and works of stucco". D. d. Miniato was engaged in stucco works in 1534, likewise after 1538 Primaticcio and N. Bellin, "called Modesne", who worked in the room of the old tower. In general it chiefly concerns the apartments of the king and queen, as well as the golden portal. About the same time Rosso worked in the gallery of Francis I. At the same time men were busied in furnishing the chateau, and G. della Robbia makes an enameled medallion with a garland of fruits for the portal of the chateau. Besides all this splendor there was not lacking the skill always then indispensable in painted glass. Already on Aug. 17, 1527, was made a contract with J. Chastellau, glazer, to supply all window glass for the chateau, both white as well as "escutcheons, arms, devices and other painted glass". For each arms and device he received 40 francs, for each smaller or larger representation of a figure, "tales and other enrichments", in chapels and churches 20 francs. To the magnificent furnishing then also belonged costly tapestries and leather hangings, among them being "skins of leather from the Levant".

Finally are yet to be mentioned the numerous works of independent sculpture and painting, that were brought here for decoration. Francis I not only placed in the galleries of Fontainebleau antique marble objects, that he had purchased, but he also gave orders to make bronze casts of other antique marble works, whose models Primaticcio was to care for. Thus the cast of Laocoon is mentioned several times, which must then appear in the accounts, sometimes as "Lacon," sometimes as "Vulcan",

indeed once with "Cleon". Likewise was the figure of the Tiber executed in bronze, and B. Cellini cast his elegant nymph for the tympanum of the portal. Furthermore Primaticcio made a model for a female figure in bronze, that was also intended for a portal. But also a copper Vulcan occurs, that had to strike the hours on the great clock of the chateau. B. Cellini incidentally made a new design for the main portal and the model for a colossal fountain for the court of the chateau, we know from his biography. Finally also the oil paintings for the wardrobe doors in the cabinet of the king may be considered, with which Bagnacavella was entrusted, as well as the water-color sketches of the 12 apostles, that should serve as models for the enameled images. The extreme richness of the works, as well as the great number of foreign and native artists of all kinds, who are found there for several decades, give an astonishing picture of an activity, such as then could scarcely be found even in Italy, as extensive the abundance of designs connected together. It is only a fault, that the character of this art is already essentially that of a mannerism.

#### 26. Chateau of S. Germain-en-Laye.

Again we learn to recognize the architecture of Francis I on another side in a chateau, which the king began to erect at the same time as so many others. This is the chateau of S. Germain-en-Laye, 13 miles from Paris in a fine and commanding location rising high above the bank of the Seine. Already in the earliest middle ages it was an important fortress on account of its situation, which dominated the course of the Seine. Several kings then resided there, and S. Louis built a castle chapel that still exists. Later the English seized the place, that was burnt by them before the battle of Crecy. Charles V restored the castle, and there is still seen at the outer left angle a square tower, which dates from his time. Later the castle rather fell into ruin, until Francis I, who had celebrated his marriage with queen Claude there, subjected it to a thorough rebuilding. However he retained the old foundations, the chapel of the 13th century (C in Fig. 42) and the corner tower of the front side, and substantially gave the chateau the form that still exists, with the exception of the towers, that Louis XIV transformed into pavilions. We learn to recognize the older

P. Chambiges, who is designated as architect of the city of Paris; after him appeared G. Guillaume, who was also his successor in the city office, and who with the master mason J. Langlois was required to proceed according to the plans of the first master.

Among the chateaus of this time is S. Germain that one (Fig. 42), which most bears the character of the massive and warlike, and without the great works of the two upper stories it would make a gloomy impression like a fortress. Surrounded by moats B, it rises as an irregular pentagon, whose sides all join each other at an acute or an obtuse angle, to give the same shape to the included court D. The exterior first rises in two subordinate stories opened by small windows above the surrounding moats. These parts still belong to the middle ages. The main entrance lies at the west side and was permitted by a drawbridge. Another bridge led to the northeast angle of the extended gardens and parks. Before the main entrance extends a court surrounded on three sides by farm buildings. At the outer angles of the western wing are placed round stairway towers. Three other winding stairways lie in the court, two of them in the angles of the western wing as entrances to the great hall there, 125 ft. long and 35 ft. wide, a third in the northeast angle. Besides these several smaller winding stairs are placed in the south wing, while at about the middle of the north wing rises a convenient principal stairway E with a straight flight.

The building is in four stories, of which the two lower have less height, but the two upper are stately in arrangement. The part erected under Francis I (Fig. 43) shows an original treatment, in which the ornamental element strikingly recedes before the severe earnestness of the construction. Bold buttresses extend up to the roof, where they terminate with pedestals crowned by vases, that are connected by open balustrades. In the second and fourth stories these buttresses are connected by round arches, so that two enormous and deep recesses are produced in the wall, within which the two tiers of windows of the corresponding stairs are placed. The windows all exhibit round arches, are sometimes coupled in pairs and have an enclosure by Doric pilasters, to which is added in the principal story a simple antique gable. The principal story is also furnished with

with an open balustrade that extends before the windows as a parapet. The same severe pilaster architecture is also employed in the subdivision of the stairway towers, and still more simple are the pilasters connected by little arches, which subdivide the surfaces of the buttresses. The earnestness of this architecture is further increased, because the principal members are constructed of ashlar, the tympanums of the arches and even the buttresses in the upper stories are of brick.

This building differs so greatly by its almost gloomy severity from the festal gayety, the decorative splendor of the other chateaus of this time, it has just as high importance in structural respects. It turns in an impressive manner to vaulted construction, that in the lower stories, the stairways and the corridors and vestibule connected therewith is executed in entirely mediæval fashion with strong ribs and elegant keystones; but most original in the entire upper story, whose vault is indeed the earliest example of this kind in the north, bears directly the stone roof of the building. Thus exceptionally every kind of wooden roof is rejected, and by stone slabs laid in series on each other is formed a slightly inclined terrace, enclosed by balustrades at both sides. The more strange is the effect of the numerous chimney caps of indeed moderate height, that rise above the terrace. Since du Cerceau states, that the king was so very interested in the building, that he must indeed be designated as its support, then must one perhaps attribute to him personally this arrangement opposed to the different customs of his country.

At the east of the chateau Henry II later began the terrace still famous for its noble view over the Seine; furthermore a peculiar building "in form of a theatre", as du Cerceau says, whose plan exhibits a square with angles cut off, and with four semicircles on the different sides, the whole being an open room intended for theatrical performances or games, that was enclosed in a rectangle by a number of covered side rooms.

#### 27. La Muette chateau.

Besides these five great chateaus, which in a prominent way make known the architectural tendency of Francis I, the king erected a number of mostly smaller chateaus, which are likewise characteristic of the art and customs of the time. We describe

only the more important, and commence with La Muetto. The king caused this little hunting box to be built in the forest of S. Germain nine miles from the chateau, and named it La Muetto, du Cerceau says, "because it was quiet, retired and surrounded by the forest". As architected is named the elder P. Chambiges, as at S. Germain, the contract dates from March 22, 1541. Thus it was built to afford the king and some of his intimate followers a quiet shelter and a place for rest after the enjoyment of the hunt. The building was built on a smaller scale according to the same programme as chateau Madrid. (Fig. 44). Without a court, it presents a nearly square central building from which project at its four corners pavilions like towers, while at the middle of the rear side is attached a chapel with polygonal termination, on the front side being a staircase with a like polygonal ending. The middle building is divided lengthwise and contains at one side a hall with two fireplaces and two windows, at the other side being two spacious separate living rooms connected with the hall; in each angle pavilion lies also a living room with separate wardrobe and privy.

A rather more accurate analysis of the plan will show what care was taken to satisfy the same requirements, similarly as in chateau Madrid. Above a basement that contained the service rooms and kitchen, rose the building in three principal stories. The entrance was reached by means of a little bridge over the moat also existing here, and was in the stair hall. Thence one passed by a moderately wide doorway into a little vestibule, and by means of an oblique doorway into the great hall. The hall has a direct connection with the two adjacent living rooms, with the chapel and with the little cabinet and privies placed in the oblique walls of the outer corners. It is further in connection with two galleries like balconies. The latter lead to little winding stairs, that are again connected with the corner rooms. These are also repeated in the two angle pavilions and are so arranged as in Chateau Madrid, that each has its own wardrobe, cabinet and stairs. All rooms and wardrobes are furnished with fireplaces and are sufficiently lighted. Thus the living rooms are also in independent connection with the stairs and galleries, with the hall and even with each other, but if necessary can also be separated from each other. Only the rectangular projection of the cabinets and wardrobes into

the rectangular projection of the cabinets and wardrobes into the corner rooms cannot be regarded as a successful solution. The little galleries with their winding stairs had the greater importance for communication, since the central building only consisted of three stories, while the pavilions had six, that were now connected together by the winding stairs and by the galleries with the middle hall. A similar connection is also found at the middle building of Chambord, where two little stories occur for each main story. But also by the principal stairway rising with double flights, the separate stories of the main building and the pavilions are connected together.

In what concerns the construction of the external elevations, these show great similarity to those of chateau S. Germain, and therefore du Cerceau justly says: "touching the edifice, it is made according to, and entirely as that of S. Germain, i.e., all the external ornaments are of bricks". The chateau was indeed built of bricks in its mass, with thick walls and boldly projecting buttresses, that were connected by arches as at S. Germain. In the depths of these enclosing arches lay the windows, and on the arches also rested the galleries. This extremely massive construction was thereby required, that as at S. Germain and also here the upper story was vaulted and bore a flat terrace roof covered by stone slabs, from which was enjoyed a charming view around over the forests. Later instead of this, P. de l'Orme built a semicircular roof, that terminated with a platform.

### 23. Chateau Chalvaux.

Entirely the same simple and severe architecture like S. Germain and La Muette was also shown by the chateau Chalvaux, only destroyed in our century (1840); brick construction with boldly projecting piers, the windows sunk in the openings of the arches between the piers, also being somewhat monotonously enclosed by a system of plain pilasters. Like those two chateaus this was the work of the leader P. Chambiges.

Chalvaux lies between Fontainebleau, Montreuil and Nemours. Francis I caused the building of the chateau, as du Cerceau says, because in the neighboring forest were numerous stags. He later gave it to the duchess d'Etampes. Due to a similar purpose as La Muette, it exhibits an allied plan (Fig. 45). It

It consists of a rectangular middle building without a court which is flanked by pavilions at the four corners. To the entrance leads a polygonal flight of steps, above which rises the apse of the chapel lying in the upper story. This is a mediaeval idea, that we frequently found in a similar way, for example at chateau Martainville (Fig. 23). Through a broad portal one passes into a vestibule from which a principal stairway leads to the upper story, beside which at each side are formed narrow corridors, that lead to the apartments of the lower story. They end in the depth of the building in a transverse passage receiving its light at each end and separating the front part of the building from its rear. In front are placed two stately and nearly square rooms at each side of the stairway. Each has its entrance from the corridor, its fireplace, a connecting doorway in the dividing wall, and a window at the side opening on a gallery, to which is added a window in the facade for the front room. The part of the middle building lying behind on the contrary is divided into a large hall and a room connected therewith, which has its access only from the hall, and thus is to be regarded as a separately reserved cabinet. The hall has its access from the transverse passage, is warmed by two fireplaces, and receives its light by three windows in the rear and one at the side, opening on the gallery.

These side galleries rested on arches with plainly treated piers, and served to connect the apartments lying in the angle pavilions with the middle building, particularly the hall. Each of these apartments had a principal room and a side chamber, both with fireplaces, then a wardrobe, privy, and a separate access by a winding stairs. Thus the same programme was completed, that we recognized in all new buildings erected by Francis I in Chambord, Madrid, and La Muette, as a common basis; a middle hall for society; about it being grouped and connected with it a larger or smaller number of independent lodgings, each made so independent by its own winding stairs, that its occupant could go and come unseen.

The principal stairway that connected the elevated ground story with the two upper stories led in one flight without rest or landing in the entire height of 22 ft. of the ground story to the upper story. This stairway must have been rather tiring

to ascend, like the somewhat later constructed principal stairway of the Louvre, that is well known to visitors of the gallery of paintings.

Of the architecture of the exterior (Fig. 46) is only to be said, that in the mass it is of bricks, the structural members being of stone, making an extremely plain impression. Characteristic were the windows lying in deep arched recesses. As in S. Germain and La Muette, the upper story was vaulted, and as there bore a terrace roof covered by stone slabs. Only above the chapel, characterized by its great arched windows divided by tracery, rose a high roof, that was crowned by a lantern. For the side facades the impression was determined by the open arched porticos of the galleries repeated in two stories.

#### 29. Chateau Villers-Coterets.

If La Muette and Chalcovau may be compared to S. Germain in construction and even in the compact and closely enclosed plan, then chateau Villers-Coterets in its broad and extended grouping around several courts presents some relationship with Fontainebleau. Excepting that here, where little of the old was to be retained, and the architect proceeded more freely and more systematically, could be compared symmetry and normalcy.

From the decree of Francis I on June 18, 1532, we know that then, besides the buildings of Fontainebleau, Madrid, as well as S. Germain and the Louvre, building was also carried on at Villers-Coterets. It was even expressly emphasized, that there as at S. Germain should be made a fountain and supply. Likewise like most of the chateaus of the hunt-loving king owed its origin to an adjacent forest; it lay on the road from Paris to S. Soissons, 13 miles from the last city and close to the forest of Rets. As architects are named J. and G. le Breton until 1550, whose brother Gilles we learned to know in Fontainebleau. Later when the building was completed under Henry II, and particularly a great pavilion was added, to the west side, we find R. Vaultier and G. Agasse are mentioned. About the middle of the 18th century the chateau was greatly changed by the duke of Orleans, and it was strongly devastated in the Revolution. Now it serves as a "prison for vagrants".

The building belongs to those in which is represented the modern form of princely country seat, without moat or drawbridges,



towers and the other mediaeval elements, in brief it appears without the traditional accessories. Even the stairways no longer are in projecting towers as winding stairs, but rise straight after the model of the Florentine, yet are more modestly placed in the angles of the court. The latter has projecting columnar arcades on three sides for connecting the rooms.

One enters through a plain round-arched portal, above which rises a balcony on consoles, in the outer (lower) court which is surrounded on three sides by one story service dwellings. Columnar porticos, to whose elevated floors lead some flights of steps at certain intervals, surround this long court, that measures 120 ft. in width with a length of 300 ft. In the main axis one then passes to a second gateway in the transverse building, that separates the outer from the inner court. This structure contains the older parts of the chateau, which Francis I restored and built. The forms here are naturally richer, and the building shows above the ground story, that it has in common with the buildings of the outer court, an upper story, that is built as entirely the nobler part. Pilasters are Doric below and Corinthian above and divide the wall surfaces. In the middle opens the portal with a depressed arch, that leads into the second court; above it is a loggia with a balcony; over this on the frieze are the lilies and the royal initial. The high roof has its separate story and on its gable rises a bell tower with a slender spire.

According to this example is the architecture of the living rooms of the master, that surround the inner court of the chateau, except being in a rather plainer treatment. Before the ground story at both ends and at the longer side at right of the entrance lie columnar porticos, like those of the outer court being surrounded by architraves, and as there directly receiving the shed roofs. This inner court measures 56 by 120 ft. and serves for playing ball.

Nothing further in the internal distribution is remarkable, than with a series of larger and smaller rooms are arranged beside each other in one line, partly detached by narrow corridors and connected with the stairways, whose arrangement was previously stated. Besides the principal stairways, these are however aided by some winding stairs in little round towers at

the angles, and also several little round towers are placed elsewhere outside to afford a view of the gardens and park. For the chateau was surrounded on all sides by extensive beds of flowers, gardens with alleys and shrubbery, and finally by a park also intersected by alleys. Stairs lead directly from the rooms at several sides. Thus the whole may be regarded as a model of a simple, but comfortable and tasteful prominent country seat of the time.

### 30. Chateau Folembray, called the Pavilion.

Like the building last mentioned, the chateau Folembray also bears the stamp of a simple and clear modern arrangement without mediaeval reminiscences. At most the five winding stairs with their polygonal towers, that are distributed in the court, recall the old native customs. The entrance with a round arch and enclosed by pilasters in the antique fashion lay in a pavilion A, that was flanked by four round towers. From thence one passed into an outer court of irregular plan, that contained a hall for playing ball besides other structures. Then not continuing along the longitudinal axis as usual, but turning to the left, one passed at B into the great inner court C, that had the unusual length of 240 ft. and 140 ft. in width. Without arcades, yet arranged on all sides in stately form, surrounded by well connected living rooms in two stories with an attic story. The windows were high with double crossbars, showed a simple architecture, but the dormers had gables like the antique. It is the same spirit of dignified simplicity and plain clarity, which characterizes this attractive rural residence, like that of chateau Villers-Cotterets. With especial preference was treated the longitudinal side lying next the garden. Accompanied by a terrace in its entire extent, from which steps led down into the garden, it contained a flight of steps and directly connected halls and smaller rooms, no less than ten in all, further connected with the other stories by three winding stairways. But the greatest charm was obtained by the plan through the beautiful gardens and parks, that surrounded the chateau to a considerable extent.

This chateau likewise owed its origin to Francis I. Two and one fourth miles north of Coucy and located in a plain, it served the king as an alternative residence, when the walls of that

grand fortress of the middle ages became too oppressive to him. Partly burnt in the civil war of 1544, du Cercean gives us the perspective view of the building half lying in ruins with the entire ruin of the opposite building.

## Chapter IV. The Renaissance under Francis I.

## B. Country seats of the nobility.

## 31. Chateau Nantouillet.

The example of such an art-loving king rapidly had a determining effect on all that were eminent and adhered to the court. Still at about the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the nobles built their residences entirely in the Gothic style, and even a man like L. de la Tremouille, who sufficiently knew Italy, found the old native style of architecture sufficient for his fine dwelling in Paris. Even in the first decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century we saw a connoisseur and friend of art like cardinal Amboise erect a building, in which Gothic tendencies still strongly predominated. But after the accession of Francis I to the government, the Renaissance also penetrated gradually to the country seats of the nobles, and we can also clearly follow here the course of development of the architecture. But it is characteristic, that the main points of the feudal castle were more retained in these buildings than in most royal chateaus. Of less importance compared with the power of the crown, the nobility henceforth is an independent element in the life of the state, and it appears that the more might its members maintain the appearance of the strong castle by the surrounding moat and the massive corner towers. It was indeed only a mask behind which the care for convenience, gay ornament, and comfortable enjoyment of life no less made itself felt.

We commence with a now little known chateau in spite of its nearness to Paris, whose excellent publication we owe to Sauvageot. It is the chateau Nantouillet not far from Meaux, the splendid country seat of cardinal Du Prat, who from a low condition rose to be a chancellor of Francis I, and later even rose to become a papal legate. It appears that the building was begun about 1519; on a window of the ground story is read the year 1521. The chateau, today reduced to a neglected condition and leased as a farm court, not only bears in its entire arrangement the stamp of a feudal noble family, but also exhibits in its details a strong mixture of Gothic elements with the ornamental forms of the Renaissance.

A moat is now filled and planted with shrubbery, but surrounded the high enclosing wall, that forms a rectangle of about

260 ft. wide by 280 ft. deep. At the four corners are placed round towers about 32 ft. diameter, entirely according to the mediaeval style. At the rear adjoins a garden lawn, that the former moat enclosed. Also at its two outer angles were erected two smaller round towers like pavilions. The entrance to the court of the chateau does not lie in the axis, as one might expect, but at the right corner of the front side, closely flanked by the round tower there, entirely according to the old rules for defense and threatening the right side of those entering, as in the plans of that time still had reference to the strong repulse of an attack. The portal consists of a great round-arched gateway, beside which is arranged a narrow doorway for persons on foot in the traditional fashion. Here at once appears to the eyes the wonderful mixture of both architectural styles; the lower story exhibits exclusively the forms of the Renaissance, enclosing pilasters of heavy proportions with elegant capitals and other ornamental decorations; the upper story, on which are noticed the great slots for the chains of the drawbridge, has three elegant niches for statues crowned by canopies, between which and over the entrance a much higher and richer niche with a statue of a seated Jupiter --- a suitable protecting saint for an ecclesiastical prince of that time. These niches with their high perforated canopies are Gothic in conception, but the mediaeval idea is expressed in the most ornamental Renaissance forms.

If one enters the court, he passes between the later farm buildings to the nucleus of the old plan. The chateau consists of a principal wing, which contains the entrance and the stairway, adjoining the enclosing wall at the rear; also two side wings, the one at the left containing a beautifully treated stairs for the servants. At the two outer corners are again placed round towers, that however measure only 9 ft. in the clear. As bays for the corner rooms, they afford a view into the gardens. The one lying at the right further contains in a low ground story the bath cabinet of the cardinal, which the present occupiers call the "prison". A winding stair is visible externally and leads to his living apartments.

The most interesting part of the building is the stairway. Placed in the axis of the principal wing, it presents for France

one of the earliest and perhaps even the first example of a stairway with straight flight, arranged within the interior of the building, while most stairways of French chateaus of the time are placed in projecting towers, as we have seen. The entrance to the court forms a low portal with rounded lintel flanked by Gothic rounds and hollows, but ornamented by delicately executed Renaissance arabesques. But at the same time a double ramp stairway at the opposite side of the garden leads to a second portal, that is covered by a portico on slender columns composed in the style of the middle ages. These columns (Fig. 43) support a little polygonal chapel of the chateau, that ~~is~~ so frequently in France is built out over the portal on columns. A corridor lies under the second flight of the stairs and leads from this garden portal to the stairway. This is a masterpiece of elegant architecture; covered by variously composed Gothic star and net vaults, it shows in the freely suspended perforated keystones, the rich tracery that extends around the ribs, and finally in the consoles and elegant Renaissance niches of the wall piers here entire ornamental magnificence of this epoch. Here may also be seen the daring motto of the ambitious cardinal; "Never struck". The chapel with its vesica windows is small, but is so connected with the stairs by a tasteful wooden lattice door, that if necessary this could serve the attendants of the master of the chateau for hearing the mass. The magnificent carved chair of the cardinal still exists.

Nothing more of the internal treatment is visible than the rich fireplace in the hall of the ground story, that lies at the left of the court entrance beside the stairway. The salamander of Francis I is found in several places, and as a further evidence of the date of the origin of the attractive building. Also the elegant tapestry patterns are conceived, that in the form of stars, lilies and the like animate the wall surfaces by varied designs. They are cut on the stone in flat sinkings. Worthy of consideration is finally, that the entire building possesses no visible attic story.

### 32. Chateau Chenonceaux.

In contrast to the works before described, the chateau Chenonceaux presents the view of a completely preserved monument

of that time of the love of building. Some 20 miles from Tours and nearer Blois, built on a bridge across the river Cher, it was built after 1510 by T. Bovier, financial interdict of Normandy, and completed in the principal parts at his death in 1523. But his son already sold the chateau to Francis I, who finished it. Every yet is seen on the building the frequently painted and carved arms of the first owner and his wife with the motto "If it comes to the point, he will save me". Henry II gave it to Diana of Poitiers, who about 1555 caused to be erected the bridge over the Cher intended by the first builder. After the death of the king Catherine de Medicis compelled the hated mistress to exchange it for Chateau Chauxmont. It was a favorite seat of the queen, who commenced great additions to the old building. Two rectangular wings, that enclosed the chateau at the rear, together with the bridge between them, formed the connection with a great court. According to the drawings of du Cerceau, the court was to extend on both sides of a semicircle entirely enclosed by arcades, and open with a second bridge on a wide outer court arranged in trapezoidal form, that was enclosed on three sides by buildings, and exhibited a great portal in the middle of the principal axis with a three-aisled entrance portico.

We leave this design and restrict ourselves to the parts erected in the time of Francis I. The building (Fig. 49) forms nearly a square mass, like chateau La Motte and chateau Chaulvau, yet with strong echoes of the middle ages, since round towers project at the four corners on corbellings, on the eastern side being a chapel with polygonal ending and a square pavilion with a likewise smaller polygonal room, the library, are added. Access is obtained over a long bridge, whose entrance was protected by round towers in mediaeval fashion. The building itself has a wide corridor at the middle of its length. From thence one passes into a hall and a spacious side room, both enlarged at the angles by a round bay. With the hall is connected the chapel, and with the side room the already mentioned pavilion with the library. Between both rooms is further a communication by a passage and a winding stairway. At the other side one passes from the middle corridor into two square living rooms, between which the middle stairway leads in a st-

straight flight to a landing, and from thence in the opposite direction to the upper story. Smaller side stairs are placed at each end of the middle corridor. The arrangement of the ground story repeats that of the upper story.

The architecture of the exterior (Fig. 5.) shows the high roofs with their window gables still of mediaeval design but executed in Renaissance forms, and the massive chimney caps, the depressed arches of the portal and of the loggia over it, that by a corbelled balcony opens externally, and finally the late Gothic forms of the chapel; All elements from that early time of the French Renaissance. The windows with their rounded lintels are enclosed by pilasters and are connected in pairs by dryly treated hermes. The charm of the location in the midst of flowing water, surrounded by magnificent groups of trees and gardens, is of rare interest. But the interior has yet greater value by the almost complete preservation of the old ornamentation with its rich decoration by painting and reliefs.

### 38. Chateau of Bury.

To the grandest designs of chateaus of the early time of Francis I belongs Bury. Nine miles from Blois and located in the charming forest valley of the Cisse close to the edge of the forest of Blois, it still excites astonishment by its massive ruins. In the place of a castle destroyed in the wars under Charles IV and Charles VII, it was begun after 1575 by F. Robertet, minister and secretary of state to the king, it was built anew. In the beginning of the 17 th century by the dying out of the family, it passed into other hands, under the new possessors it soon fell into ruin and by them was even robbed of its ornamentation and partially destroyed, to restore and decorate the chateau of Onzain also belonging to them. Once abandoned, it sunk still lower, was utilized as a stone quarry by the inhabitants in the vicinity, and now as a mighty ruin is the scene for the fanciful beings of popular tradition, which has made its ruins the seat of the wild huntsman and the white lady.

Of the arrangement of the whole we have a view drawn after du Cerceau with the addition of the ground plan. We give from the same source a perspective view in Fig. 51, from which the



combination of the mediaeval plan and the modern treatment is visible. The moat with its drawbridge defended by towers, the four round towers at the corners, to which are added also two that occur at the end of the garden, belong to the feudal castle of the middle ages; but the subdivision of the internal space shows us the customs of a new time. Instead of serving for defense, the towers contain in each story a spacious chamber with wardrobe, and open externally by great windows with crossbars. Likewise the stairways are no longer arranged as winding stairs in projecting staircases, but are included within the building. Also the stately arcades at the entrance side, the regular plan of the court, that forms a square of 150 ft., and the magnificent gallery 140 ft. long and 24 ft. wide, which occupied the right wing, is of the new time. From the Renaissance also dates the entire decoration by the system of pilasters in two stories, and the richly crowned dormer windows, which recall the fanciful forms of Blois and of Chenonceaux.

Among the rich ornamentation that distinguished the chateau, were emphasized in the 17th century still the splendid marble busts. In du Cerceau and accordingly in our representation is seen at the middle of the court a slender youthful form on a column. There remains no doubt, that this figure was that of the entirely vanished bronze David of Michelangelo, which at the order of the Signoria of Florence was originally cast for P. de Rohan, marshal de Gie, and that his successor F. Robertet in the favor of the king received and established in the court of his chateau of Bury. The travelers and description in the 17th century expressly mentioned a "bronze image of king David" in the court of the chateau of Bury, that was brought from Rome and was very highly esteemed by connoisseurs. But already in the engravings of I. Sylvestre is to be seen a fountain instead of the David. Probably the David was also removed to chateau Onzain, where it then vanished without a trace.

#### 34. Chateau Le Verger.

In like manner as at Bury, mediaeval traditions connected with the ideas of building in the new epoch dominate the design of the equally grand chateau Le Verger in Anjou, the former residence of prince Rohan-Guemene. Likewise here round towers with crowning battlements and machicolations flank the angles

of the wings that surround the great court; also two others are at the angles of the residence of the master, that also includes a rectangular inner court. A moat did not merely enclose the entire plan, but also separated the external court from the chateau proper. But in the rectangular and symmetrical arrangement of the plan is here expressed the tendency to clear regularity, that entered with the Renaissance. A drawbridge leads to the principal entrance flanked by two round towers, that with a great round arch and tympanum imitates the form of an antique triumphal arch. On the contrary the second entrance, lying on the main axis like the first, gives access to the upper court, and according to the French custom by an entrance covered by a depressed arch with a narrow doorway beside it for passengers on foot. Also there is not wanting here the favorite arched niche with the equestrian statue, and the crowning consists of a bold pavilion flanked by corbelled turrets and finished by high dormers. The dormers on the entire building still exhibit predominant mediaeval forms. Thus also here the national traditions unite with foreign influences.

### 35. Chateau Varangeville.

The same fresh character of this transition epoch is shown by the remains of the chateau Varangeville near Dieppe, that belongs to the most interesting monuments of the time. One J. Ango, a ship-owner of that city, famous for his wealth and his long sea voyages, not less for his love of art, caused this magnificent country seat to be erected, after he had previously rebuilt in Dieppe itself his house with a richly carved wooden facade. About 1532 he could receive and entertain Francis I with princely opulence in his chateau. Like Nantouillet, this masterpiece of the early Renaissance is now half destroyed and has sunk to be a leased farm court. But the court facades yet exhibit the splendor and decoration of the original work. In the angle where both wings meet rises a polygonal stairway tower, as mostly in these chateaus; but original and scarcely to be shown elsewhere in this epoch is the great flight of steps in the court, which leads in a double ramp to a great portico in the ground story, that above a high parapet wall opens with massive arches resting on strong columns invitingly toward the court. Likewise the other wing shows such a portico, but unlike

it is to be regarded not as an arcade but more as an open loggia. The columns by their dry proportions and the capitals recall Gothic architecture; on the other hand the arches exhibit antique mouldings and lozenge coffers, mixed with Gothic blind tracery.

In the ground story is seen little round-arched windows, enclosed by pilasters, entablatures and gables after the style of the Renaissance. On the contrary the windows of the principal story have straight lintels, crossbars and an enclosure by Roman pilasters, a frieze with medallion heads alternately enclosed in lozenge panels or by round garlands of laurel, extends between the two stories. Just as in Nantouillet also is rejected here the arrangement of an attic. The greatest splendor of the ornamentation is developed on the flight of steps, whose end walls are entirely covered by precious arabesques, pilasters with graceful ornaments and medallions in relief.

#### 26. Chateau of Chantilly.

In his description of the abbey of the Thelamites Rabelais calls this imaginary creation more magnificent than Bonnavet, Chambord or even Chantilly". To his time thus belonged the latter chateau among those most esteemed, that men knew in France.

The location of the chateau (Fig. 52) near Senlis on a branch of the Oise, had given opportunity for an extensive basin of water, which not merely by the usual moat, but further enclosed the extensive groups of buildings by great ponds. From the country road by means of a long bridge A over one of these broad rivers that surrounded the whole, one passed into the rectangular court B surrounded by service buildings, which was connected by the hall C with the garden lawn D. Like a long extended island lie there both of these connected parts. As a second island surrounded in the same manner by water, there rises the master's residence, that is grouped around a triangular court. Thus we find here, without question required by the nature of the site, an entirely irregular plan according to the style of the middle ages. The feudal impression is merely strengthened thereby, that not only the angles rise three round towers with crowning battlements, machicolations and high roofs, but that nearly in the middle of the two sides of the triangle projects a semicircular tower like a bastion, and

two similar bulwarks at the third side defend the entrance over the external drawbridge M. Here is also emphasized the feudal character more impressively than on any other chateau of the time. The entire inner chateau stands on a rock foundation, whose level rises about 10 ft. above the pavement of the outer court. One must therefore ascend from it by the steps E to the bridge F, that leads to the residence of the master. Likewise one passes from this by a second flight of steps down into the lower garden. Finally beneath the entire residence of the noble extend vaulted cellars of great area, cut in the rock in two stories, an arrangement that according to du Cerceau "is rather to be compared to a labyrinth than a cellar".

But the ground plan did not end thereby. It extended more considerably at two sides, then from the principal facade beyond the bridge J flanked by towers, one passes to a great and also elevated terrace, which in a rectangle of about 300 by 500 ft. enclosed by walls, extended along the entire front of the chateau. From this one then comes to the broad parks with their magnificent alleys and groups of trees. But at the opposite side, if one went from the gardens D by a bridge across the outer moat, he came to a still more extensive garden, that formed a square of about 350 ft., and was enclosed at one side by an elevated open loggia. Beside this garden was placed the irregular and spacious farm court with its extensive structures, so that this chateau possessed no less than three courts.

Let us now return to the inner chateau to examine its arrangement. The main front forms the longer side of the triangle. Here one passes through the entrance J occupying the middle, and protected by towers, into the master's apartments, that according to the custom of the time consists of a series of larger and smaller rooms. From the court G a stately flight of steps K in two ramps leads to the elevated ground story, and from thence to a stairway, which in a straight flight to the first landing and a rectangular turn there reaches the upper story. In spite of the strong mediaeval reminiscences the design of the stairway is entirely modern, and in the entire chateau occurs no more important stairway. The other side of the building adjoins the principal building at a right angle and has a great hall L, to which a separate flight of steps leads

from the court. This is adjoined by subordinate rooms occupying the blunt and irregular angle of the triangle. The third side or hypotenuse is only partly for buildings, partly enclosed by a fortified wall, from which projects a tower for defending the second bridge. Here lies as a separate building the Gothic chapel H with polygonal choir.

This is the arrangement of the vast building, which in part dates from the middle ages, but was restored and transformed in the 16th century with extraordinary magnificence. Meanwhile, aside from the mediaeval remains, du Cerceau's drawings permit two epochs to be clearly distinguished. The first includes the greatest part of the chateau proper, the master's residence, and undeniably refers to the early time of Francis I; the second, to which is attributed the regular plan of the outer court and of the service rooms found there, decidedly stands at the end of that epoch, or rather already in the time of Henry II. The greatest magnificence is developed on the buildings of the early time, particularly on the court side of the master's residence, that belongs to the most elegant and richest works of that time (Fig. 58). The great windows with their stone crosses, enclosed in both stories by corinthian pilasters, the richly crowned dormer windows, that compete with the most ornamental of their kind, the splendid projection at the flight of steps arranged with an open portico, its roof adorned by statues and crowned by a slender spire, the magnificent open portico by which the hall like a gallery opens into the court, and whose walls like the before mentioned projection are subdivided by Corinthian half columns, finally the little pavilion in the projecting angle, that also contains a stairway and terminates with an octagonal superstructure and a round lantern, all affords an entirety of the highest richness. To this are added the medallions with busts, the soaring genii supporting the arms on the window parapets, the vases and statues, everywhere employed to crown independent parts, in brief all elements of decoration, which that splendor loving epoch brought into use. Even the chapel, still indeed an early Gothic building, shows a portal, in which the elements of the flamboyant style luxuriously mix with those of the Renaissance. On the contrary manifestly belong to the middle ages the adjacent structures.

Therefore du Cerceau justly says of the residence of the master; "It does not perfectly adhere to antique or modern art, but the two are mixed". On the other hand, he says of the buildings of the front court; "The fronts of the buildings there being, as much in the court as outside, follow antique art, well arranged and treated". In fact there appears in these parts that simplifying of forms, which is attributed to the stronger observation of the antique. Almost without exception the buildings consist of a ground story, whose great windows are decorated by curved caps. Above rises an upper story, whose windows are partly rectangular, partly round-arched, but are crowned by gables after the antique. But they extend into the roof according to a custom then beginning. It is now interesting that in prominent places, especially at the corner pavilions, a single colossal Corinthian order covers the wall (Fig. 54), a custom that came from the endeavor to pass from the repeated little pilaster orders of the earlier epoch to grand and simpler forms. One disadvantage was indeed in the preceding case, that the upper window recklessly intersects the entablature with frieze and roof cornice. Perhaps the earliest example of this doubtful arrangement. On the great hall like a gallery, that separates this court from the little garden, instead of the lower row of windows occurs an arcade on piers, which are decorated by Corinthian pilasters.

### 37. Chateau Chateaudun.

Among the provinces of France, Touraine has the greatest abundance of monuments of this time to show, and the river valley of the Loire, this smiling garden in the midst of the heart of the country, from Angers to Orleans, is for France what Tuscany is to Italy, just as Normandy by the excessive imagination of the decoration of its works may be compared to upper Italy. Touraine was then the favorite seat of the court; therefore no wonder that besides the three great royal chateaus of Amboise, Blois and Chambord, there rose a series of country seats of the higher nobility, which competed with each other in splendor of execution. Chenonceaux, Bury, Le Verger, that we already know, belong in this number. Others stand worthily beside them. We commence with the chateau of the old count of Dunois at Chateaudun, still recently the residence of the duke de Luynes, 27

miles from Orleans. The Chateau experienced a splendid restoration at the beginning of the 16th century (1502-1532), yet without being completed. The exterior of this part almost exclusively belongs to the Gothic style, particularly the magnificent tracery ornamentation, that is airy perforations accompanies the main cornice. Still the consoles of the latter, the pilasters and the tops of the windows show the influence of the Renaissance. But what lends its classic value to the chateau among so many contemporary monuments is the stairway, which in grandeur and richness seeks its equal. Not projecting from the line of the building as at Blois, nor like the middle stairway of Chambord developed into an independent and isolated structure, the stairway of Chateaudun is within the building and inside it is developed into an independent masterpiece.

From the court one passes into a doubled high portal archway, that is still entirely included in the mediaeval way between slender buttresses, which are animated by niches and rich canopies for statues and terminate in slender finials. The composition appears almost like that of a Gothic church portal, for this entire portion with its steep roof forms an independent pavilion, which is included between two corbelled round towers. All divisions are covered by low Gothic arches, which are bordered by perforated tracery like lace. Also the roof cornice is bordered in a similar manner.

One now passes directly into a high entrance hall and finds himself at the beginning of the stairway. Following the general custom of the time, this is a winding stairway, which extends spirally about a round middle pier (Fig. 55). It is enclosed on three sides by walls, but at the fourth opens with very flat arches on a middle round column, to which correspond half columns at the edges of the walls. But to receive the steps, at every turn is made a transition to the octagon by projecting stones and thereby is obtained a place for eight squat columns on projecting consoles or corbels. On their part these are connected by flat arches and support the circular cornice, on which rest the ends of the steps (Fig. 56).

If this construction already merits consideration for itself, the interest is increased by the magnificence of the ornamentation, whose beauty is excelled by no other work of the French

Renaissance. If on the exterior all was still Gothic, then here appears the mediaeval style only in the form and section of the arches and decidedly in the blind tracery on the middle pier. But the panels of the newel itself are filled by Renaissance arabesques in the purest taste and with the most delicate execution. And the capitals of the columns, the balustrade, cornice and frieze, as well as the soffits of the arches, and finally the numerous corbels, consoles and capitals of wall columns exhibit a variety and beauty, like scarcely a second architectural work of this epoch.

### 38. Chateau at Azay-le-Rideau.

Remarkable in another respect is the chateau Azay-le-Rideau. It attracts attention less by a single masterpiece, than by the clear and harmonious general arrangement. Located on a little island in the Indre about 4 1/2 miles from its discharge into the Loire, its exterior is substantially so well preserved, as it was when erected about 1520 by G. Berthelot, the former owner of the place. It consists of two wings joining at a right angle, after the mediaeval fashion is surrounded by a moat, and externally by battlements and machicolations, as well as massive round towers with round roofs, and is characterized as a strong fortress, while the great windows divided by cross bars and enclosed by pilasters contradict this appearance.

Next the internal court side these feudal elements are also omitted, and the chateau shows there three stories with great windows, which in a peculiar way in the upper story extend into the roof, and are crowned by not exactly beautiful caps (Fig. 57). While the continuous system of pilasters and the numerous horizontal belts give a somewhat monotonous impression, all luxury of decoration is also employed here on the stairway, that projects in the longer court facade as a separate lofty gabled structure in four stories with doubled arched openings. Likewise here as in Chateaudun, the stairway is arranged inside the building, but its ornamental treatment already shows on the exterior the entire form expression of the Renaissance, its pilasters and arches, its arabesque frieze and belts, except that in the two middle stories the depressed arch is employed instead of the semicircle. On the middle pier as well as at both sides are arranged niches for statues with rich



canopies, conceived in mediaeval form like the crowning gable, but expressed with the entire fullness of Renaissance forms. Among the sculptures we frequently meet with the salamander of Francis I. Besides we find the initial of the owner and the motto; "A single wish", doubtless the device of the owner.

### 39. Chateau Beauregard.

About 4 1/2 miles from Blois on the edge of the forest of Russy and on the slope of a row of hills, which enclose the charming valley of Beuvron, lies the Chateau Beauregard that with right bears its name. About 1520 it was built for Rene, bastard of Savoy, natural brother of the mother of Francis I. Captured in the battle of Pavia and soon dying from his wounds received there, he had enjoyed its possession but a brief time, and left it to his widow Anna of Lascaris. It was sold by her in the year 1543, and soon came into the possession of J. du Thier, secretary of state under Henry II, who made a name for himself by his culture of science and art. He enlarged the chateau and founded a library in it, of which Ronard sings:-

" ---- Thou wilt recompense with many crowns

Those books that have vanquished so many centuries,  
And which bear at the front of the margin, as guide,  
The great names of Pindar and of great Simonides,  
By which thou hast decorated the sumptuous chateau

Of Beauregard, thy work, and has made it more beautiful."

In the year 1617 Beauregard by purchase came into the possession of the treasurer of Louis XIII, P. Audier, who adorned the great gallery with the portraits of 15 French queens. His son added thereto a series of portraits, and built the facade that lies next the river. At the beginning of the last century and under a new owner, the old chapel was unfortunately destroyed, and which contained frescos by Niccolo di Abbate. On the contrary the chateau has been splendidly restored by the present possessor and newly furnished in the style of the Renaissance.

The greater part of the building as it now exists is of the 17th century; we have here in the first line to do with the plan of the time of Francis I. Du Cerceau says of it:- "The edifice is not large, but it is refined and is as well arranged as possible for what it contains". As shown by the plan, it then consisted of southern and northern pavilions E and F, which

were connected by the great gallery D and an arcade C lying before it opening to the court by arches on piers. Above an upper story with large windows divided by cross bars and enclosed by pilasters, rises a roof story, whose windows on the connecting building and on one pavilion, exhibit the ornamental and sportive crowning of the early Renaissance, while those on the other parts are simply terminated by the antique gables. Two wings A, G, at right angles enclose two sides of the inner court B, one but halfway. A great irregular outer court with farm buildings extends before one longer side of the building, as at Bury.

The modern tendency of the entire design is evidenced by the complete absence of mediaeval elements. No vestige of a moat with its drawbridge or of the favorite corner tower is to be seen. Likewise the main stairway is placed in the building and indeed it has two flights, one beside the gallery, the other next the principal pavilion. To the elevated ground story of the latter further leads a broad flight of steps in two runs. Only the service dwellings, that surround the lower part of the court separated from the principal building have their winding stairs in a projecting octagonal tower. The number of the master's apartments was small in du Cerceau's time; besides the gallery about 70 ft. long and 13 ft. wide, they were limited in the principal wing to a hall of about 40 by 24 ft. with side room and wardrobe, connected with a larger and smaller room, in the other pavilion to a great chamber with wardrobe and two smaller rooms connected with the side stairs and the gallery. A great and well cultivated garden, enclosed by two long open alleys with the corner pavilions, as well as a wide park with magnificent trees and alleys surround the building.

#### 40. Other chateaus of the province of the Loire.

The buildings so far considered contain the elements of French plans of the chateaus of the early Renaissance in such rich diversity, that we must collect a great number of the smaller chateaus of that time in a brief survey. The common elements also here retain during the entire epoch the mixture of Gothic forms with those of the Renaissance, the national preference for towers, angular projections, projecting stairways with winding stairs, and for steep roofs with rich crowning gables. With these elements are connected certain antique forms brought

from Italy, in that naive and purposeless manner in which we have already learned to know them. The picturesque charm of these little graceful works is intimately connected with the character of their rural surroundings. In the narrow streets, on the irregular places of cities, their architecture would not be good, at least if they were placed anywhere directly beside the severely composed Florentine palaces developed in massive forms and symmetrical plans. But conversely a palace Strozzi or Rucellai would look just as badly, if it were transferred to the banks of the Loire or of the Cher with direct surroundings of forest and meadow. French chateaus have a stamp of rural freedom, that can only develop in free natural surroundings.

The buildings in the province of the Loire exhibit this character in a particularly charming manner. Near Azay-le-Rideau lies the chateau of Usse, begun about 1440 yet in the middle ages, then continued in 1485 and first completed in the 16th century, a Gothic building with later changes in the Renaissance style, excessively rich and overloaded with towers and high roofs, that shoot up like mushrooms. Of incomparable splendor is the facade of the chapel of the chateau with portal and tall pointed window, still Gothic in design and construction, but with luxuriant Renaissance decoration, that flows over the whole like a web of Brussels lace, and especially crowns the window, that scarcely finds its equal in grace and sportive pleasure.

An elegant early Renaissance is also shown by the little chateau of Sansac near Loches from the year 1529, the windows in the usual way flanked by a system of pilasters, the dormers in the roof with ornamental gables. Likewise the chateau of Landifer with four round towers, windows with crossbars, fine pilasters and rich roof story, yet rebuilt about 1553 by Henry II and in part restored. Further the chateau of Lude, completed about 1535, with massive round corner towers, ornamental pilasters, medallions with busts in the wall panels and with dormers that terminate in caps with shells. The chateau of Benhart, built about 1530, on whose dormers Gothic elements are mixed with Renaissance forms. The chateau at Rocher de Mesanger in the province of Maine, likewise with pilasters that have a framework, with flat arches in the arcades of the courtyard

richly crowned dormers. Here also belongs the chateau of Oiron (Deux Sevres) made famous by its fine faience, whose earlier parts date from the time of Francis I and were executed by the artistic lady, to whom is also due the production of that magnificent pottery. The principal building with its two wings, flanked by pavilions and round towers, belongs first to the 17th century. In the interior the beautiful winding stairs dates from the time of Henry II, while a richly sculptured fireplace dates from even the epoch of Francis I. Finally the gallery in the court with its twisted Gothic columns, with which the Renaissance medallions beneath the windows contrast in a peculiar way, yet date from the transition epoch of Louis XII.

Further the chateau at Moulins in Bourbonnais originated about 1530, with splendid court and arcades, now built up, Corinthian pilasters and richly carved archivolts and spandrels. In the same province the chateau of Chareil, that possesses in the interior a fireplace of magnificent work with ornamental arabesque frieze and Ionic shafts of columns, that entirely consist of rows of leaves. Important then is the ducal chateau at Nevers, begun about 1475, a great late Gothic building with an open polygonal stairway at the middle of the facade, restored in the 18th century, and particularly furnished with a rich roof story, whose windows are adorned by caryatids and volutes. The old chateau of the duke of Anjou at Angers, built like a tower in mediaeval arrangement, ornamented in rich and noble Renaissance, but clear and not overloaded. The chateau of Valencay originated about 1540, with great round corner towers, a great pavilion at the middle, overloaded by rich dormers and high chimney caps, the windows flanked by pilasters as usual. The chateau S. Armand received at about the same time its magnificent roof story and other ornamental additions. The chateau Serrant not far from Angers was built about 1545 and completed in the 17th century, erected without a roof story and in a rather severe Renaissance, likewise having windows with crosses and pilasters. The masses are built of quarried stone, but are subdivided into three stories by Ionic, Corinthian and Composite pilasters in solid ashlar work. Also here the dry round towers at the corners still follow mediaeval design. The

The chateau of Sedieres (Gorreze) is a building of the 15 th century, square and arranged about a square court with a square tower at one corner and a corbelled round stwer, which flank the portal and two sides of the residence, transformed in the 16 th century by great windows, enclosed by pilasters, into a Renaissance chateau. Many other buildings might be named, that have experienced similar transformations.

#### 41. Chateaus in Normandy.

Next to Touraine is Normandy rich in buildings of the early Renaissance. They also exhibit the common and frequently mentioned characteristics, only enhancing these by the still more luxuriant magnificence of the ornamentation, that we have seen to be the inheritance of the late Gothic school of architecture of the country. We name the chateau of Mesnieres in the department of Lower Seine, arranged on a square plan with towers at the angles. It is one of the grandest and most imposing works of the time, built about 1540-1546, externally severe and like a fortress according to the old custom, internally with a charming court, surrounded by arcades. The chateaus of Conde at Yton and of Boissy-le-Chatel are picturesquely constructed of ashlars and bricks with elegant dormers.

In the department of Calvados belongs here the chateau of Lasson and that of Fontaine-Henry, both originally of the 15 th century, but restored in the 18 th and rebuilt in the style of the Renaissance. Lasson with its extremely ornamental decoration is recently designated as the work of H. Schier, whom we shall know in S. I- as the distinguished master of the choir of S. Pierre in Caen; Fontaine-Henry received in 1537 an addition to its mediaeval nucleus, which by its colossal roof far exceeding in height the other building and its colossal chimney like a tower leaves behind everything of that kind remaining in France. The same is true of the so-called Manor of the Gendarmes, properly Manor of Nollant, not far from Caen, a building of mediaeval design with mighty round towers, which with elegant Renaissance windows and numerous medaillon busts regularly distributed over the surfaces, is ornamented even to the battlements. Then the chateau Fontaine-Etoupefour near Caen, whose elegant portal is flanked by two round towers. The Manor of Bello, erected as a stone substructure in half timber with

bricks, is an attractive example of this mode of construction favored in Normandy. Then the chateau Of S. Germain de Livret near Lisieux is built of ashlar and bricks.

By a magnificent polychromy is characterized the chateau of Aussey, a simple manor with round towers at the corners, with an extremely picturesque appearance. Of similarly plain design is the chateau of Bainvilliers, a brick building with pilasters of cut stone, the whole executed in the ornamental forms of S. Pierre in Caen of 1527-1536. In the interior is a fireplace 18 ft. high enclosed by little candelabra columns. High charm has the chateau of Chanteloup (Manche) that in its luxuriant ornamentation and its rich subdivision recalls the early buildings of Caen, and must indeed be mentioned as a work of H. Schier. (Fig. 59). Then the chateau of Ivry-la-Bataille, built in 1537, but destroyed to the walls and rebuilt under Henry II in severe Doric style. A simple but graceful building is the little chateau of Foursallville near Cherbourg, windows and portal flanked by fluted Corinthian pilasters, that are replaced by Ionic on the round towers.

#### 42. Chateaus in the provinces.

Also in Isle de France and the neighboring domains is to be noted much ornamental work from this charming early epoch. Less luxuriant than the buildings of Normandy, these chateaus participate in the charming treatment, which became general by the epoch-making works of Francis I.

Thus the chateau at Sarcus first destroyed in the reign of Louis Philippe exhibits in the different parts remaining magnificently ornamented broad arches, between which the piers still terminate with Gothic finials, beside a richly enclosed window. The number 1528 of the year is read. About the same time and soon after 1527 originated chateau Anizy, of which only one wing still remains, in the mass being a brick structure with geometric patterns, similar to the archbishop's palace at Sens (Fig. 16). The treatment is simple but with perfect grace, the windows have the usual enclosures by Corinthian pilasters, the portal is similarly treated with pilasters and crowning gable, the ornamentation seems to be of greater refinement. It was originally a very considerable building with pavilions and two wings, only one remaining, as stated. After

One model of Anizy is then treated the chateau of Marchais, though somewhat more animated in forms, and furnished with little pavilions; completed in 1546.

One of the most important designs was the chateau of Fere-en-Tardenois begun after 1528 for Anne de Montmorency, apparently erected by J. Bullant. But only a few fragments of it remain, certainly sufficient to prove the former grandeur of the works. To these belong nominally the great viaduct 240 ft. long and 18 ft. wide, 78.7 ft. high, massive as a Roman work, the arches plainly but expressively bordered by faceted ash-lars. Also the splendid main portal remains, flanked by Doric columns, the windows of the upper story then extending above the cornice into the roof and ending with arched caps. These parts were completed before 1566, as the whole already shows rather the character of the time of Henry II. Finally should also be mentioned the manor of Huleux, that with its plain pilasters in the three orders indicates the beginning of the reign of Henry II. In the interior is a handsome fireplace. From Burgundy we add the chateau of Bussy-Rabutin (Cote d'Or), whose court with its arcades still belongs to the time of Francis I, while the principal facade shows the style of the first half of the 17th century, but still in a very suitable though stronger treatment. powerful is the subdivision of the surfaces by Corinthian pilasters, that flank the windows, and between them the masses are animated by all sorts of niches. The parts dating from the time of Francis I present on the arcades of the ground story as well as on the little window gallery of the upper story the depressed arches of the earliest time. At the angles rise plain round towers.

#### 43. Chateaus in the South.

More limited in number are the buildings, which the southern provinces have to place in the series of creations of this time. Besides these show a lesser understanding of the world of antique forms. But they frequently compensate for that in a certain sense by their decorative magnificence, that in principle essentially differs from the love of ornamentation in the northern and middle provinces. In Touraine and also in Normandy the architectural members are of delicate and modest form, and the arabesques and figure ornament on the best works are treated

in graceful refinement, so that only b: the frequently overloaded richness of their use is produced the extremely magnificent impression. On the contrary in the southern monuments the architectural members were formed with that luxuriant energy teeming with life, which already so strikingly appears on the antique monuments of southern France. If a bold relief decoration is connected therewith, this is also a tendency already exhibited by the Roman monuments of the country.

One of the most magnificent examples of this tendency is the chateau of Usson (Puy de Dome), Fig. 60, in luxuriance and splendor indeed one of the richest in all France. On the frequently preserved inscription tablets, that in classical letters contain passages from the antique authors, the cartouche work already makes itself noticeable, that indicates the time of about the middle of the 16th century. But otherwise the tolerably loose composition, the sportive splendor of the detail forms, the entire ornament is still entirely in the character of the early time. Particularly is this true of the niches arranged above each other in the ground and upper stories with their fancifully decorated consoles and the varied diversity of their little candelabra columns. The female figures of the virtues placed in them betray a rather heavy awkwardness of the executing artists. Direct antique studies from the Roman works of southern France are recognized in the showy acanthus scrolls intermixed with genii and other little figures, abundantly distributed everywhere, as well as in the medallion heads of the ground story, the bold cornices on consoles of the principal story, and the genii with festoons of fruits, which as an open frieze crown the attic. Moreover the ground story has suffered considerably, and particularly the enclosure of the portal with the stiff fluted columns and the lean festoons of fruits belonging to a restoration of the 13th century, as it appears. The entire work, so little as one can accept it as a high artistic effort on account of the composition, is still interesting by the overpowering luxuriance of the treatment of the details.

Here then also belongs the mighty chateau of La Rochefoucauld near Angouleme, although arranged and executed in a quite different character. As the ancestral seat of the famous family of



that name, its origin extends back even into the middle ages, as particularly shown by the mighty square keep with its machicolations. Likewise the arrangement of the plan of the great main building with the threatening round towers, consisting of two wings, eastern and southern, one tower containing the chapel, which is already externally indicated by the tall Gothic windows, is still a mediaeval idea. But in the early time of the reign of Francis I (about 1528) was completed a thorough rebuilding, that was executed under Francis II by La Rochefoucauld and his wife, Anna de Polignac. To this time belongs particularly the facade represented in Fig. 61, as well as the wing adjacent at the left at a right angle, which with its system of enclosing pilasters at the windows, yet even more by the splendid crowning cornice and the gallery extending above it, as well as the dormer windows constructed with ornamentally sportive elevations, clearly betrays the model of the chateau of Blois. Of the magnificent gallery in the interior with its richly developed ribbed vaults, we gave a view in Fig. 18. This gallery is externally enclosed by a system of pilasters, extends east and south on the court facades in three stories, and has not its equal in France in grandeur and magnificence. Above it is terminated by a fancifully rich crowning, in which Gothic tracery gables and finials are translated into the language of the Renaissance. Indeed there is also not wanting a stately winding stairway, even if it must be inferior to those of Chambord and of Blois. Particularly richly and nobly treated are the portals, which form the connection of the gallery with the adjacent rooms (Fig. 18).

The principal work in Languedoc is the stately chateau of Assier. Instead of an earlier castle, one tower of which was retained, it was built by G. de Genouilhac, who already under Charles VIII was with him in Italy, and under Francis I commanded the artillery at the battle of Pavia, and later was for long minister of finance. Destroyed in the 18th century, 40 years before the Revolution, it exists after all as an important ruin. The whole is made richly picturesque and shows on an engraving of the year 1680 a great square court with a rectangular wing projecting at one side. The chateau forms a square of 138 ft.; the internal court facades belong to the time of Fran-

Francis I as well as a part of the exterior, that is adjoined by the old massive round tower. Otherwise appears the elevation of the external front at the end of this epoch, if it does not already fall in the time of Henry II.

The principal portal is formed in the manner of an antique triumphal arch and is flanked by Corinthian columns. Above opens a great niche flanked by two orders of Ionic columns, that support an antique pediment. In the nich was seen the equestrian statue of Francis I. The windows are partly furnished with crossbars after the old fashion, partly treated in severely classical form. Remarkable is the high mixed frieze beneath the roof cornice, that is adorned by heavy consoles in Roman style. In all these forms appears that pompous and rather massive magnificence, that we have emphasized as the characteristic mark of these southern buildings. This showy cornice was so pleasing, that with the frieze it was added also to the old round corner tower. The dormer windows are flanked by Ionic pilasters and show a crowning by volutes.

Incomparably more elegant, ornamental and richer are the court facades, also earlier without question (Fig. 62). The windows in the lower and upper stories have the straight lintels, but according to mediaeval style rounded at the corners, together with the division by crossbars. likewise they were flanked by pilasters that were treated with rich decoration, and according to a favorite custom were connected together in a continuous vertical system. Extremely rich is the animation of all surfaces by reliefs. In the wall panels between the windows are seen 12 busts of Roman emperors in medallions with garlands; besides salamanders, emblems and arms in rich execution. Beneath the windows of the upper story are numerous mythological scenes in relief. The termination forms a high frieze like an attic with pilasters, in which are emblems and the initial of the builder. An elegant dentil cornice crowns the whole. the portal of the court opens in a great arch, flanked at each side by three Corinthian columns, manifestly a later addition. The soffit shows splendid coffers. Over the portal is arranged a loggia, that is enclosed by projecting Ionic columns. The whole bears an unusually fanciful stamp. Beneath the device of the owner is read the repeated motto:- "I love one (woman) much,"

where a double sense is intended, that results from the nearness of the two last words ("I love fortune"). Besides there is found as a humorous confirmation:- "Yes I love it just as it was in the beginning"). The interior of the building exhibits beautiful stairways and splendid fireplaces. /

A somewhat unskilled but also rich early Renaissance is then shown by chateau Montal near S. Gère (Lot) in a pleasing location on a hill and built even before 1534. It consists of two wings flanked by towers, but was never completed. Especially rich are also here executed the court facades, particularly with a magnificent relief frieze between the ground and upper stories, as well as notable by niches with busts between the windows. Then follow the crowning gables in Gothic form. Windows and doorways exhibit the straight lintels rounded at the angles, the former also having a division by crossbars. The enclosing pilasters partly have elegant ornaments. The window parapets between the lower and upper stories are adorned by a high frieze decorated by arabesques, sirens, initials and emblems. In the upper story are seen between the windows busts in medallions, that are enclosed by pilasters and ugly steep gables. In accordance with the nowise happy proportions, this lends to the impression of the whole something restrained and unskilful.

In the interior occurs a magnificent winding stairway, whose ceiling is entirely covered by elegant ornaments. Then the great hall of the chateau, which has a Gothic ribbed vault on corbels, exhibits a rich fireplace with arabesques, frieze, crowned by two attics above each other in a remarkable manner, both richly ornamented by arms and elegant decorations. It is seen that this is a provincial art, which lies rather distant from sources and understanding of the forms.

Here also belongs the chateau of Bourdeilles (Dordogne), substantially a mediaeval building of warlike and fortress character, to which however in the 16 th century Jacqueline de Montbrun added a new building, that however was never completed. She was the widow of the master of the chateau and sister-in-law of Brantome. It has a nearly square plan, the interior notable for a stately stairway and the still well preserved "golden hall". The beautiful paneled wainscot and the richly painted

wooden ceilings are highly esteemed. Finally the old chateau at Pau, now in possession of the State, must be mentioned here on account of its parts executed in the most luxurious style of Francis I. In its mass it is a massive and gloomy Gothic structure from different times in the middle ages, mostly of the 14 th century, when was mentioned an architect Sicard of Lordas. To the colossal keep built of brick and the other three mediæval towers, that in a varying way are not round but square, there was recently added others by Louis Philippe (since 1838) and Napoleon III, so that the chateau now exhibits no less than six towers. The parts here interesting us were erected after 1527 under Henry d'Albret and his wife, the highly cultured Margaret of Navarre, the famous sister of Francis I. To this belongs the magnificent dormers of the court as well as some portals and windows, that are counted among the most graceful works of the time. Not merely are all details of that sportive charm and abundance of imagination, which animated all details of that time, but the wealth of sculpture according to the custom of this southern school is so great, that even the cross-bars of the windows are entirely covered by sculptures. In the interior is notable a beautiful fireplace. Confiscated and degraded in the last (18 th) century, the chateau was utilized in the Revolution as a prison and barracks, only experiencing in recent times a complete restoration. To its highest charm belongs its wonderful location.

#### 44. Chateau of Bournazel.

To the beautiful publication of A. Berty we owe the acquaintance with a chateau of the Renaissance, nowhere previously mentioned, in which has been recognized one of the most complete and model creations, whose number is extremely limited. We mean the chateau of Bournazel, that is located not far from station Cransac on the railway line of Rodez-Villefranche in very romantic and hilly surroundings. One of the chief officers of Francis I, Jean de Buisson, who was wounded in the battle of Ceriscolles, caused it to be erected, in order to rest there from his fatigues. On the building is read the year 1545. In fact its architecture bears the character of that noble beauty, which the charm of abundant imagination of the early Renaissance moderates into the expression of a harmonious peace. As

creator of the building is named an otherwise unknown artist, G. Lysforgues, to whom is also attributed the erection of the chateau of Graves. But even if this forgotten and modest master of a remote province had created nothing else, but only the chateau ofournazel, there is due to him with full right a place of honor beside Lescot, de l'Orme and Bullant. His building bears the stamp of a powerful dignity and dominant grandeur, in which are plainly felt the deep influence of Rome and its antique nobility.

The chateau was doubtless intended for four wings grouped around a court. Of these were executed only the longer northern and the shorter eastern wings, as well as part of the southern one. The latter contained a great stairway with the principal stairs broken into four flights at right angles; in the eastern wing lie the principal rooms, especially a hall 45 ft. by 25 ft; the northern receives a series of living rooms, that end at a second stately stairway at the western end of the building. This is also arranged with straight flights in the tendency of the new time. On the contrary the middle ages are recalled by the two massive round towers that flank the outer angles of the building.

The architect has given to the external facades the stamp of a serene and almost dry earnestness. The walls are built of quarried stones, and only the windows and their enclosures exhibit elegant ashlar work, with the arrangement of pilasters, Ionic in the ground story and Corinthian in the upper, with Doric in the roof story (?). These systems are connected together vertically by pilasters diminished like steles, that in the upper story develop as rather affected hermes. This entire composition is not to be termed happy, by either the proportions or its intimate connection. So much more astonishing is the effect of the facades of the court.

The northern facade is longer and shows five wide divisions, that in the ground story are made by Doric half columns, in the upper by Ionic. Each of these enclose below and above a window, sometimes in two parts, sometimes narrower and single. Above is a roof story, whose windows are flanked by Corinthian pilasters and crowned by sportive gables with additions in the sense of Gothic.

This is the only echo of the middle ages, and here also the details belong to the new style. The windows of the other stories are enclosed in the ground story by Doric, and in the upper by Ionic pilasters, crowned by bold gables like the antique, to which are even given little acroterias. All these forms exhibit unusually fine and elegant treatment; but they are even more imposing by the beautiful proportions and before all by the unusually wide wall surfaces that enclose the windows. This chiefly produces the truly distinguished impression of the building. To this is then added the richness of the decoration, an abundance of relief ornamentation, that like the quiet bearing of the whole is so happily subordinated, as on very few French buildings and only as the case on those classically developed. Already the entablatures of the windows in the ground story have high friezes with ox skulls and shields in the metopes. Each window gable further encloses a bust imitated from the antique. Then comes the great Doric frieze of the ground story, in whose metopes is an inexhaustible variety of representations in relief, decorated shields, masks, ox skulls, cartouches, elegantly ornamented armor and weapons, and even free scenes in relief. No less magnificent is the main cornice with its row of consoles developed after the most elegant antique models, that in a remarkable way extends below the architrave, while a smaller cornice with consoles forms the upper termination. Between runs a higher frieze, adorned in its entire length by magnificent acanthus scrolls, in which genii play beside richly ornamented masks. The execution of this lavish relief ornament must in part evidence unsurpassed mastery.

Yet more important is the treatment of the eastern facade. It follows the arrangement of the northern with its elegant fluted Doric and Ionic half columns and its magnificent cornices. But what lends unsurpassed dignity to the expression is the incomparably beautiful use of the arrangement of columns. Those in pairs separate the single windows by wide spaces animated by niches. They even are sunk in deep arched recesses formed by the considerable thickness of the walls. In the upper story, where is a projection of about 6 ft., is formed thereby a connecting passage, that extends before the windows. Also here all bears the stamp of classicism, particularly the noble

rosettes, which in beautiful conventionalized enclosures lend to the soffits of the arches the expression of light charm and noble splendor. As stated before, we have to do with the creation of a master of the first rank, who is filled by the impressions of Rome with fresh inspiration and has expressed his artistic feeling in a magnificent building in a remote mountain valley. Unfortunately the devastations of the time of the Revolution also struck this monument severely.

## Chapter V. Renaissance under Francis I.

## C. City buildings.

## 45. Species of city buildings.

To the different classes of the population, which already since the early middle ages had settled within the ring walls of the city, corresponds the diversity of the architectural designs. First the numerous nobles of the country and also the more important monasteries had their permanent residence quarters, both in the larger cities in the provinces, as well as particularly in Paris. These residences, for which the French have the word "hotel" (mansion) gave the an imitation of the castle or the chateau, yet on a diminished scale and with the omission of the elements calculated for defence, thus the towers and the moats with their drawbridges. Only a strong enclosure, a dignified separation and recession from the noisy traffic in the streets was equally a tendency of the aristocratic occupier; therefore the whole was surrounded externally by a high wall often crowned by battlements, and for the same reasons the residence when possible was placed apart from the street, separated from it by a court in front. Only the room of the porter and in any case such rooms as rather served the public traffic with the dwelling, were attached to the outer wall. At the rear men liked to arrange a garden, in order there to be free from the noise of the streets, and there by its green, its flowers and trees, at the same time it offered a friendly recollection of the gardens, parks, forests and meadows, that surrounded the chateau.

We have in the preceding epoch (1.13) learned to know some model examples of such city mansions, in the mansion of Tremoille is here city residence of an eminent noble of the court, in the mansion of Cluny is the residence quarters of one of the greatest abbots of the country. But already then the citizens that had become wealthy imitated that aristocratic custom by its most prominent representatives, and Jacques Coeur established in his mansion in Bourges a dwelling, that in stately arrangement and rich ornamentation competed with the mansions of distinguished nobles. In the distribution of the rooms these buildings exhibit at a reduced scale all those peculiarities which the barons of the feudal period liked here, and to which



they were accustomed; simple connected rooms of different kinds, a larger hall, often extended as a gallery, before all numerous communications, chiefly obtained in projecting towers by winding stairs. Also a house chapel was never omitted in these mansions of the nobles.

These ground lines of the plan also remain in force during the time of Francis I. They had become manifestly too interwoven with the life and customs of the nation to be lightly given up. The only thorough transformation occurred in the domain of decoration, which gradually loosed itself from mediaeval traditions and adopted the forms of the Renaissance, just as in the chateau architecture, and is often in an extremely decorative treatment. Only the plans of the courtr were often on piers or columns a hegher monumental impression, and a new motive for the commodious connection of the rooms.

From the mansion grew the palace as a necessary result, and developed further the elements of that building in a merely enhanced arrangement. It rises in a similar manner above the plan of the mansion, as its possessor rises above the social and political position of that aristocratic class. According to the French conception, the palace is in the first line the residence of the sovereign. Therefore men speak of the palace of the Louvre, of the Tuileries. But also the mansions of those high dignitaries of State or the Church, who in their circle exercised the rights of sovereignty were termed palaces. There especially belong the residences of bishops or archbishops. As already stated, these do not substantially differ from the design of the mansion, only that they correspond to the needs of a greater household, are planned more extensively and developed more grandly. One point however must be emphasized as characteristic; the arrangement of a great hall calculated for a considerable multitude, that was used for solemn assemblies of various kinds, and in which the idea of sovereignty seemed embodied. This hall then soon had also the spacious arrangement of accessory rooms, side rooms, vestibule and anteroom as a result; but especially it soon led to the grand development of the stairway, which as the stairway of honor received its particular importance. In the course of its development the Renaissance found excellent opportunity for varied and grand

solutions of just this architectural programme.

To these aristocratic residences is contrasted the simple citizen's dwelling as the representative of the numerous class, that belonged to the mercantile and industrial pursuits. The citizen's house of the middle ages already distinguished itself by the diversity of forms of plan and elevation. The individualistic character of that epoch impelled each individual to shape his dwelling according to his own needs and to express the arrangement of the interior energetically on the exterior. In the great commercial and industrial cities of the northern provinces, reference to the public traffic impressed its stamp on the house. The ground story opened with wide windows or shops, sometimes with arched porticos on the street. The entrance lay at the ground level and led directly into a large room, devoted to business visitors, and if necessary arranged as a sales room. From thence a narrow passage led to the court lying behind the house, beside which were often rooms for wares and other supplies. From the large vestibule that in the citizen's house took the place of the hall in the noble's castle, led an open straight or winding stairs to the upper story, that was reserved as a dwelling for the family, and that had above the vestibule a corresponding principal room next the street. Kitchen and bedroom lay next the court, and further the latter is mostly placed in an upper story. These houses are characterized in the facade by numerous large windows, that are frequently divided by narrow piers and occupy the entire width. They open as widely as possible toward the street, to be in connection with the traffic outside. This tendency is favored in the northern and central provinces by the half timber work that prevailed there until in the Renaissance time. The numerous smaller divisions caused by this construction gave an impulse to the use of numerous windows.

Otherwise are formed the plan and elevation of the house in the quiet farming cities or in cases, where a wealthy citizen erects the dwelling for the comfortable enjoyment of life. Here the regard to public traffic is omitted, and rather occurs the endeavor to withdraw as much as possible into the family life, isolated from the outside. As a rule one passes from the street by a flight of steps to the closed doorway of the ground story,

placed considerably above the level of the street. The internal distribution however remains allied to that mentioned above, as then the houses are erected on narrow and deep lots close beside each other, so that lighting is to be obtained from the street and the rear court. The ground story of these houses is devoted to service purposes, kitchen and store rooms. In the vestibule here also lies the stairs to the upper stories, that serve as the living rooms of the family. The form of plan likewise of this kind of building permits the addition of numerous large windows. Only in the southern provinces a regard for the great heat of the sun compels the windows to be made fewer and smaller.

These ground lines of the arrangement remain in force for the different species of citizens' houses even during the Renaissance time, since already the citizen class adhered longest and strongly to the traditions, even to the forms of the middle ages. The Gothic epoch had brought into use the most diverse materials, in the northern and middle provinces arose the upper stories in richly carved half timber work over the ground story built of ashlar, one projecting widely beyond the other on the ends of projecting beams; in other countries, especially in upper Champagne, the region of the Loire and the southeast provinces a development of ashlar construction was native, while in the regions of southwest France as well as in Normandy prevailed brick construction. It appears that the Renaissance failed to develop the latter artistically in France, so far as we know. On the contrary ashlar construction was treated with preference, and it experienced not merely a rich and elegant development, but also obtained a greater geographical extension. Finally the forms of the new style were also transferred to half timber construction in the northern provinces, practically in Normandy, yet without even adapting them to the material.

Finally we have to mention also those buildings in which the common feeling of the citizens acquired a monumental expression: the city or council halls, as may be understood by the adherence of the cities to the traditions of the middle ages. In the first decades of the 16th century, as we have seen, they were built exclusively in the Gothic style. First about the middle

of the century the forms of the Renaissance come into more general use, and are employed with great magnificence. Thereby disappears the mediaeval character of these buildings. Instead of the earlier favorite open porticos is built a closed facade with pilasters and the other ornamental forms of the new style. The belfry either entirely disappears or gives place to a smaller clock and bell tower. In the interior however remains the substantial distribution of the earlier time, except that gradually the vestibule and stairway acquire a richer arrangement of ornamentation.

#### 46. Archbishop's palace at Sens.

Among the numerous interesting buildings, which the ancient city of Sens now exhibits in spite of many devastations, the palace of the archbishop is to be emphasized as an important work of the early Renaissance. About 1520 the older portion parallel to the cathedral was erected by archbishop E. Poncher; in 1535 cardinal Louis de Bourbon added the adjacent wing at a right angle, which was completed in the year 1557, and is termed the "wing of Henry II". The architect of this building appears to have been Godinet of Troyes, who in 1534 also erected a magnificent fountain, now destroyed, in the middle of the court.

The older portion of the building consists of a wing irregularly arranged about 160 ft. long, following the curvature of the street. Unfortunately recently destroyed in great part, it is preserved to us by the drawings of Sauvageot. It consists of an entirely plain ground story built of ashlar with plain pilasters, opened by two rows of small windows. Richer and more elegant is the upper story. Above the belt with dentils it commences with a wide frieze divided by the extensions of the pilasters, and whose surface under the windows is adorned by beautifully carved shells with floating bands and with harps (Fig. 64). Then follow pilasters with richly moulded pedestals and varied Corinthian capitals. The pilasters, angles and window jambs consist of ashlar, the surfaces are of brickwork in which black glazed bricks form lozenge panels. Extremely rich are the enclosures of the windows. They consist of Gothic rounds and hollows, the last adorned by leaves and flowers. According to the needs of the internal rooms, the windows in the

different divisions are either single or double and but on account of their considerable height (about 13 ft. in the clear), all are divided by two stone crossbars. The termination is formed by a cornice still substantially of Gothic profile, whose gutter is decorated by lions' heads and foliage. The happily distributed ornament and the grand proportions, --- the upper story measures 13 ft. in height --- give the building a truly distinguished and palatial stamp. A roof story does not exist.

Through an arched doorway at the western end of the building one passes into an outer court, which on the right is separated by a cross wall from the inner court. A narrow doorway beside a larger portal leads into the latter. At one side and enclosed by the cathedral, the other two by the palace, it shows an irregular rectangle, whose greatest width is 110 ft. by a depth of 35 ft. In the older wing are arranged two winding stairways, one projecting externally in an octagon, the other being square and included within the building. Their portals are constructed in rich late Gothic forms, only the panels of the little flanking buttresses and finials showing Renaissance arabesques. Also the little draw well was so arranged that one could draw from outside and inside, with a Gothic roof beset by crockets, but adorned by Renaissance details on its cornice. The inner facade of this older portion shows substantially the style of the outer one, except that the ornamental magnificence is even much greater and more varied. Its arabesques belong to the finest and most spirited of the French Renaissance.

This style is somewhat modified as stronger and simpler on the so-called wing of Henry II, whose conception however still belongs to that of the time of Francis I. It exhibits (Fig. 16) nine arches in the ground story, formerly open and now walled up, the round arches resting on piers with projecting Corinthian pilasters. Consoles with acanthus leaves extend from the lower piers to the rather too long ones of the upper story. The windows of the latter also present Gothic reminiscences by their richly profiled jambs. The facade next the garden in the opposite side is similar, only this has in the ground story windows instead of an arcade. The internal distribution of this wing exhibits large and regular rooms and the principal stairway leads to the upper story in straight flights, thrice broken.

## 47. Mansion Ecoville at Caen.

Caen is yet and always one of the most attractive and oldest cities of France. Yet the modern search for imitation has not razed the old crooked streets with their picturesque houses in order to force through the monotonous "boulevards of the emperors". Still are seen in Rue S. Pierre and other streets entire rows of those original late mediaeval half timber houses, that compete in rich carving with the forms of stone construction; everywhere rises masterpieces of tall stone spires of towers of the Gothic time, and the abbeys of William the Conqueror rise in their earnest masses, surrounded by secluded and quiet places. But in the middle of the city and enclosed by the animated traffic of the market lies the church S. Pierre, whose choir is the richest and most original work of the entire church architecture of the early Renaissance. On the place surrounding this church has remained a private building of that splendid epoch, which offers a model example of the prominent city dwellings of that time. Mansion Ecoville, now serving as an exchange, was built about 1530 by Nicholas de Valois, then lord of Ecoville. On one window is read the date 1535, and M. Trebution, librarian of the city, has determined as architect Blaise, the priest.

The facade next the street rises above the ground story in an upper and a roof story, whose windows exhibit rich caps. The proportions are of remarkable beauty, the ground story considerably higher than the upper, windows wide and large with finely profiled stone cross mullions, the separate systems separated by projecting half columns, below and above with freely treated Corinthian capitals, the bases resting on well developed stylobates. A full understanding of antique forms is expressed everywhere, yet already without falling into conventional monotony. Throughout still moves the fresh breath and free fancy of the early Renaissance. Boldest appear the caps of the dormers, before all in the splendid high gables with Corinthian columns and rich volute capitals, that rise over the main portal. Formerly the great flat niche here showed a relief of the equestrian figure, destroyed in the Revolution, but not a portrait as usual, rather the mystic horseman of the Apocalypse. Also the tympanum of the portal was ornamented by a relief.

The portal is placed in the middle of the facade, when there is omitted the wing lying at right of the observer, that with its independent steep roof is characterized as a separate pavilion. A little doorway, skilfully inserted between the end of the facade and the pavilion, leads from the street to a winding stairway, also accessible from the court, intended for service purposes.

If we enter the arched doorway of the main portal, we pass into one of the most charming courts, which the French Renaissance created (Fig. 65). Made nearly square, it is enclosed at the entrance side and on the right by the residence buildings, while at the left extend open arches on piers, and the fourth side shows a dominating pavilion between arches, that contains a square hall. Each side of this charming court is independent, treated differently from the others, and yet the harmony of the continuing principal forms is happily retained. Ground and upper stories receive a firm subdivision by noble Corinthian pilasters, which at prominent places are combined with projecting columns. Where arches occur in the ground story, they are partly supported on pilasters, partly on half columns, and their archivolts are enclosed by fine mouldings. The windows are either single or have cross mullions, with a similar richly profiled enclosure, and their mullions are most ornamentally treated with little columns and candelabras. Furthermore the balustrades, the caps of the smaller windows, and finally and particularly on the dormers, there is no lack of graceful ornaments, volutes with vases, dolphins with medallions, bands and festoons of all kinds. With the charm of the invention the refinement of the execution maintains equal pace.

The facade of the entrance side given in the illustration (Fig. 66) is plainest of all. The greatest magnificence is developed on the side lying at right of the entrance, now enclosing a single hall devoted to assemblies of the exchange, formerly divided into several rooms. The three wide double windows are here so far separated that a rich architecture of niches between Corinthian columns finds place between them. In the ground story are seen an elegant pedestals in the niches the figures of David with the head of Goliath, and Judith with that of Holofernes. In the upper story the enclosed panel is

filled by genii holding arms with a crest and by floating bands. The balustrade that separates the stories exhibits historical reliefs, Perseus freeing Andromeda with another and unintelligible in significance. Over this magnificent architecture of niches the architect of genius has placed the windows of the roof story, that by larger arrangement and richer caps excel those of the other facades.

At the rear angle of this wing is now arranged a wide and free flight of steps, that first leads into a richly decorated vestibule, whose ceiling shows elegant coffers and arabesques. This anteroom permits the connection between the hall in the right wing and the great pavilion at the rear, affording access to a conveniently arranged winding stairway, that fills the angle of the two wings. The architect has divided this into airy open storiss and crowned it by a hexagonal lantern, that with the smaller side lantern resting on columns is incontestably the most beautiful of such creations of the entire French Renaissance. Flanked by elegant Corinthian pilasters as buttresses, adorned on the covering slab with the cornice by beautiful vases, between which are crouching children, this ornamental court gives an incomparably gayer termination, and makes known already the by far greater pride in the dwelling of an eminent man, rising above the low houses of the citizens. At the apex of the lantern is seen the statue of an Apollo, on the smaller one appearing a Moses, with a Priapus beneath the columnar structure of the latter in a remarkable way. The strange manner of harmlessly combining antique and Biblical scenes in the rich ornamentation of the building is a characteristic example of the tendency of the Renaissance.

This elegant composition is entirely contemporary with another masterpiece, which enriches the small court by no less decoration; the dormer window that terminates the middle pavilion (Fig. 15). We know no similar work in the French Renaissance, that in beauty of proportions, airy and slender elevation and charm of ornamentation can equal this. A great arched window is flanked by Corinthian columns, held at both sides by buttresses, whose piers are covered by pilasters of the same order, and are crowned by candelabras on pedestals instead of the Gothic finials. The transition to the high middle building forms



volutes like foliage, ending in bearded heads. The termination of the middle building reaches a climax, accompanied by like volutes, in a little window with pilasters, above which rises a medallion with the bust of S. Cecilia enclosed by arabesques with dolphins. The base of the superstructure is flanked by two figures, which represent Marsyas and Apollo; whom a bearded man at the middle of the balustrade seems to watch. Under the frieze is read the inscription:—"Conquered Marsyas is silent". Another significant inscription on the doorway of the service stairs says:—"constant labor conquers all things". So much on this jewel of the Renaissance, in whose master we have to recognize one of the most distinguished architects of that epoch.

#### 48. Other private buildings in Normandy.

In a survey of what further city buildings in the province of Normandy still belong to this epoch, we find only a spare profit. This chiefly has its reason in this, that just in that province the adherence to the ancient half timber work continued long in force. Likewise the assembly in Blois on the year 1520 might pass a law against this mode of building, that by the projection of the upper stories narrowed the streets, cut off air and light from them, and there can be no doubt that already sufficient time had passed for this decree in reality. Thus originated those picturesque houses, of which a number are yet found in the cities of Normandy, particularly in Caen and Rouen. Villot-le-Duc gives in excellent representations, as always, of these original creations of the architectural spirit of the late middle ages. Since they extend deep into the 16th century, and so exclusively predominate on them the ornamental forms of the Gothic style, that one seeks mostly in vain for an air of Renaissance art on them. Intelligible enough; for just the masters of carpentry, brought up in the traditions of Gothic architecture, held fast the more strongly to the world of form transmitted to them, when the transformation of architecture was completed in an entirely different field, that of stone construction. Thus for a considerable time the art of the carpenter remained among the agitations and currents of the new architectural tendency, as if isolated on a quiet island, untouched by the revolutions, which then occurred in the intended stone architecture.

Yet there are not wanting examples, that finally also there penetrated into this quiet province the spirit of the new time, and that invisible force also compelled concessions from the carpenters trained in Gothic. In the Rue de grande horloge in Rouen are seen two such houses, that have entirely broken with the mediaeval world of form, and although constructed in half timber work, exhibit the entire wealth of Renaissance ornamentation in lavish luxuriance and most graceful execution. Corinthian pilasters are covered by precious arabesques, even with little candelabra columns in the lower story, and separate all three stories. The ground story is widely opened by two wide windows with horizontal arches; but on the contrary the windows of the upper stories imitate the cross mullions of stone construction. Frieze with arabesques, parapets with imitative balustrades and splendidly carved reliefs separate the stories, and the upper termination of the whole forms an attic with dwarf pilasters, in whose panels are seen genii with portrait medallions. However seductive is the impression of this precious facade, still one should not forget, that it is purchased at the expense of every rational principle of architecture.

On another building of the same city, the abbey of S. Amand, it is plain how at about the same time men passed from Gothic half timber work to the stone construction of the Renaissance. Here the older part of the building still at the end of the 15th century was executed in that kind of wooden construction, which was ornamented by the details of Gothic art. But this luxurious work is adjoined at a right angle by a part added in the epoch of Francis I, which is constructed in developed Renaissance forms and ashlar work. Men had the foresight not to remain behind the older part in richness, but to surpass it in true magnificence wherever possible. Hence in the lower and upper stories the energetic subdivision of the wall by elegant Corinthian columns, that are set on pedestals. The polygonal stairway tower set in the angle with its pilasters and richly crowned windows, above with candelabra columns at the angles, seems to belong to a middle period. In the interior the so-called chamber of Guillemette d'Assy retains one of the finest fireplaces of the Renaissance. An attic with decorated pilasters, between them being niches with shells with four statuettes,

(S. Margaret and another saint, Maria and the angel of the annunciation), above being a beautiful acanthus frieze, all covered by elegant arabesques, forming the upper part. In such smaller works is satisfied the excessive love for ornamentation of the time rather than on the facades of buildings, of which are required greater earnestness and a quieter architectural treatment. Another fireplace is even more splendid, since to the pilasters are added arabesques and niches adorned by statuettes and also four figure reliefs, and it is preserved in a house of the Rue de croix de ferre.

The unexcelled masterpiece, mansion de Bourgtheroulde, produced by the school of Rouen in this epoch, was previously mentioned in S. 18. This building is indeed the most splendid proof, that the riotous ornamental fancy of the early Renaissance dissolved every architectural principle in an ornamental play, certainly fascinating to the eye by its charm.

Of the mansion de Than only remains a dormer window, yet with its fanciful ogee cap, the royal salamander in the tympanum, the medallion heads in the frieze and the finely ornamented Corinthian pilasters of the enclosure, beside which dolphins form the outer sides, it has an unsurpassed charm.

Also there was in Andelys the so-called great house, to be mentioned as an important building of the early Renaissance, yet preserved only in drawings. The Renaissance still strongly struggles with the Gothic here, therefore the house must be attributed to the beginning of the epoch, if not even to the end of the time of Louis XII. On the exterior was a polygonal bay window of especially rich and ornamental treatment. In the interior the chapel was formed as a great and splendid hall, executed in the most luxuriant flamboyant forms, but mixed with Renaissance motives.

#### 49. House of Agnes Sorel at Orleans.

No other city in France played a more important part for the Renaissance than Orleans. What Rouen was for the north in the first epoch under Louis XII, was this great city for the middle provinces. Located in the heart of the country on the animated stream, for commerce and traffic as in political respects the key of the south, capital of the province, in which the Court then had its favorite seat, the city after many devastations

still exhibits a number of interesting examples of secular architecture from those splendid days. To the earliest of these belongs the so-called house of Agnes Sorel in Rue du Tabourg.

In their characteristic ardor, the French confer on the most beautiful private buildings of that time the name of some royal mistress, in the present case overlooking the apparent anachronism, at least the facade next the street and the front half of the building would lay claim to the time of Charles VII, without noting that the inner court facade could be erected scarcely a few decades later than the front.

Evidently the house was built for a rich merchant of the city, for only such and not a favorite of the king could be served by the two great shops enclosing the narrow hall of the house, each of which receives abundant light through two wide round-arched openings. That lying at the left is adjoined by a room that receives its light from a little court A, behind which lies the stairway with its winding stairs. From the shop on the right of the hall of the house a spacious room with fireplace is separated, that has a great window and a doorway to the inner court B, and at the same time is connected with the hall and the front room. The unequal depth of the two halves of the house makes it highly improbable, that the succeeding part of the house was added much later, as thought. If on the facade certain mediaeval forms more strongly come into use, it must not be forgotten, that in this time a few years often effected an entire change to the Renaissance. But we shall find besides, that also the court facade is not entirely free from Gothic reminiscences.

The inner part of the house shows us a considerable lengthening of the hall of the house, that however at the middle opens into the court B with round arches on three columns, and thereby obtains sufficient light for its entire length, but also for the stairway. Opposite the court a doorway leads into a hall of considerable extent, which has windows on three sides. Opposite this and terminating the court a spacious room is arranged with a fireplace. Other trifling additions in depth are around a third court C.

On the street facade we are first surprised, that the two upper stories with their windows are rather symmetrically arranged,

While the great arched openings of the ground story have no reference to the upper arrangement, a freedom employed in good mediaeval sense. Besides the profiles of the arches and their piers as well as the architraves of the windows exhibit Gothic hollows and rounds. Likewise the jambs of the windows participate in this treatment, and even the caps of the latter by a broken cornice resting on corbels with little figures are of Gothic origin. But the delicate ornaments of the window architraves in foliage and leaf bands are executed in the true spirit of the Renaissance, and the graceful Corinthian pilasters of the dormers with their fine arabesques show the same tendency. Motiveless and inorganic are only the gables of the latter, a fault that meantime was softened by ornamental additions. Further are to be considered the magnificent stone beams, that in the ground story divide the great arched openings as the springing line, as well as also cover the horizontal portal. They were all ornamented by very lovely bands in relief. Above the doorway beams is still a frieze decorated by elegant arabesques with a crowning cornice, that separates the portal from the window with a flat arch, which gives light to the hall. In the upper stories are repeated for the same purpose small rectangular windows, with richly ornamented jambs and soffits. To complete the description of this original and picturesque facade should also be considered the leaves of the doors that close the portal of the great arched openings. They show within rectangular panels, lozenges with boldly carved rosettes.

The court facade rests on columns, that with their arches exhibit mediaeval proportions and profiles, although the capitals are decorated by graceful Renaissance motives, arabesques, sirens and other fanciful forms. Also the windows, doorways of the ground story have Gothic profiles, but on the former they are connected with elegant flowers and interlaced bands, that belong to the Renaissance. The two upper stories --- there is no roof story --- as on the house facade are independent of the ground story in three systems of windows divided by crosses. Likewise their windows have on the mullions and their architraves Gothic rounds and hollows, even if without foliage; but they add a developed system of pilasters, which after the French custom are connected vertically like bands, ending close

above the arches on consoles in the finest taste. The pilasters and their continuations have lozeng panels, and the former are crowned by elegant early Renaissance capitals in great variety. But under these windows is seen a shield of arms encircled by garlands of leaves and fluttering bands. This facade still retains the fresh spirit of the early Renaissance in its strict regularity, and must have originated about 1530.

Of unexcelled charm are finally the carved wooden ceilings of the ground story and the first story. The former (Fig. 63) exhibit rectangular panels inclosed by bold bands with rosettes, each filled by another arabesque with the most delicate relief, and the happiest invention. In the upper story (Fig. 17) the design is different. Broad flat bands are held by shield knobs and ornamented by precious arabesques, separate coffers and flat mouldings, that each enclose a rosette in a lozenge panel. Verdier and Cattois give examples of both systems.

#### 50. House of Francis I at Orleans.

To the most distinguished among the numerous Renaissance houses of Orleans belongs the so-called house of Francis I at The corner of Rue de Recouvrance. According to the researches of a local investigator, it was built in 1536 by the royal chamberlain G. Tutain, but was furnished and richly ornamented in the interior by Francis I. From this it has been concluded, that the king caused this house to be erected for his well known favorite Anne de Pisseleu, duchess d'Etampes. So much is certain, that this lady in the year 1540 at the invitation of her uncle, the bishop of Orleans, made a visit there, not in the episcopal residence, but lived in the quarter S. Eufroy, in which is located the house in question.

The exterior of this house exhibits simply noble forms, and these are always in animated but massive treatment, which after the thirties, the sparkling play of the early Renaissance used. On the facade are seen coupled windows with crossbars between the Corinthian pilasters, and with round-arched caps, a form occurring very rarely elsewhere, but a favorite shape in Orleans. A rectangular architrave of simple profile is crowned by a gable like the antique, with a medallion head in the tympanum, forging the enclosure. The plan (Fig. 69) shows in the middle of the oblique plan a hall, at the right of which adjoin

a large room with two smaller ones at the left. By the small depth it is seen that the greater extent of the court is beneficial, and that one does not have to do with a house so numerous in Orleans, whose ground story serves for mercantile purposes --- as for example that described in the preceding Section, --- but that the isolated dwelling is that of a private man. The irregular court is surrounded on three sides by the living apartments, on the fourth by a high wall. At one longer side an arched portico adjoins it, the lower one with slender Corinthian, the upper with short Ionic columns (Fig. 70). This decided accenting and contrast of a slender and a stumpy order has a happy effect like everything decisive. The execution of these parts exhibit great care. The richly varied capitals of the lower columns belong to the most elegant of the time. (Fig. 71), the Ionic capitals of the upper series are treated with refinement. The medallions in the spandrels, adorned below by arms, above by heads of Roman emperors in relief, the effectively profiled archivolts with their keystones like consoles, and the rich cornice with consoles in the upper story lend to this facade the expression of animated and still modest charm. The arcades serve as connection with the two winding stairways, that are arranged at both ends in square stairway towers. The Termination of the court forms in its entire width a great hall, connected by a small doorway with the adjacent stairway, with the court by a great arched portal, and accessible from a side street. Here two upper stories rise above the ground story. In the angle which this part of the house makes with the enclosing wall of the court, in the principal story is built out an ornamental little tower like a bay, which forms a quadrant. It rests on a shell vault (trumpet vault), whose coffers exhibit tasteful arabesques, figure representations, among them the salamander and the date of 1540. Although the house is found in a sadly desolated condition, it still possesses in the interior vestiges of its former splendid ornamentation. On the animated paneled ceiling beams are seen arms, among them the royal lilies, crowned dolphins and other carved works. But the principal piece is the magnificent fireplace, of which Sauvageot gives a representation.

51. Buildings of wood and of half timber work in Orleans.

## 51. Buildings of wood and half timber work in Orleans.

It is characteristic for the great commercial city, that far the greater number of its old houses betray in their plans a regard for the animated commercial traffic. Most evidently belonged to merchants, or were made as profitable as possible by their owners, who did not themselves carry on traffic, by the arrangement of shops. The plans of these houses as a rule are extremely narrow (Figs. 72, 73, after the mediaeval custom, but of considerable depth. The ground story scarcely leaves space for a long and narrow corridor at one side, since the entire room is occupied as a sales room. This opens on the street with great arches and piers, but is still connected with a room, which receives its light from a court. A peculiarity repeated in nearly all these houses is, that the narrow corridor, where it ends in the court, enlarges into a stairs, that by a winding stairs leads to the upper stories, an arrangement just as compact as suitable. The court in these houses is very small and frequently is still more reduced by the upper stories, corbelled out on oblique supports.

Especially original and thereby worthy of consideration on these buildings is the still often preserved arrangement of the sales rooms. In the Gothic epoch, whose forms yet extend until late in the time of Francis I, the filling of the great arched openings was always of wood in a style, that as a rule corresponds to the scheme of that form, and exhibits a too slavish dependance on the forms of stone construction. We give in Fig. 74 an example of this kind. It was otherwise with the buildings that adopted the style of the Renaissance. They always take into account the material in the treatment of wood construction. Yet first with certain, even if fanciful, yet animated motives of mediaeval art are mingled (Fig. 75). While the lower part of the large opening receives a balustrade of posts and board panels, and posts extending higher flank the entrance to the shop, the upper part of the arch is enclosed by a strong wooden beam, which at the same time holds the door posts. The ends of this beam, often in the mediaeval fashion and in effective tectonic symbolism, are formed in dragons' heads. On this beam rests the wooden lattice, that fills the upper segment of the arch, even then admitting light to the



room, when the entire lower opening is closed by its wooden shutters. The third and last stage of the development of this motive is represented by our Fig. 76. Here the posts have been transformed into ornamental pilasters, the beam into architrave and cornice with elegant antique details, while the latticing of the upper part consists of iron bars.

If in these insertions, wooden construction supplies the theme, in all older buildings till the first decades of the 16th century, it also plays the first part in the general architecture of houses. It is half timber construction, that gives these facades their characteristic appearance, when the upper stories project on the extended ends of the beams. The most important elements of this construction, the ends of the projecting cross beams, received from the skilful carving tools of Mediaeval workmen an animated ornamentation, in which figure and fanciful ornamentation are attractively mingled. Also the connecting beams receive by effective profiles, deeply cut hollows and sharply projecting rounds their artistic stamp. But of the original freshness, by which the north German masters of Brunswick, Halberstadt, Goslar, Hildesheim, Quedlinburg and Wernigerode, created this construction with characteristics developed from the nature of the materials with tectonic necessity, there is seldom a limited mention in French buildings. As already stated, they usually fall into a restricted imitation of stone construction. Likewise Orleans possesses many examples of this kind, that even belong to the time of Francis I. On the whole it may be said, that the Renaissance by the luxury of skilful ashlar construction coming into fashion, supported all State decrees and made an end of this style. Still is seen in No. 43 Rue des hotelleries, what translates half timber construction into the forms of the partly insipid, partly already Barocco architecture. It bears the date of 1599 and may find an earlier mention here. Even late Gothic buildings do not show such an aberration. For if they imitate stone forms, they are not endangered by the nature of their construction; but here is no longer mention of a rational wooden tie, and thereby the justification for such treatment is entirely lost.

On the contrary we not seldom find in the courts of the houses at Orleans wooden galleries, that rest partly on stone cor-

bels, partly on wooden posts. These frequently exhibit a characteristic treatment. On the contrary a special example of the Barocco caprice is to be seen in the house at No. 1, Rue de Coulon.

## 52. Private buildings of ashlar at Orleans.

Besides the larger and more important houses anticipated in S 49, 50, we find in Orleans a number of private buildings, on which is employed the Renaissance in rich stone construction with serenity and animation. To bring into a chronological series the development of the forms for examination, we commence with a little house, No. 20 of Rue de l'Impossible, that shows in the most luxuriant and coquettish early Renaissance, and excels in luxury of ornamentation all other private buildings in the city. In the ground story it consists for the entire width only of the house doorway and the opening of the shop covered by a low depressed arch, above the door of the house are arranged two windows connected by a little pilaster for lighting the hall. This subdivision of the lower story is most elegantly enclosed by dwarf pilasters resting on corbels, with foliage and fine arabesques on their shafts and ornamental Corinthian capitals connected by a dentil cornice. The profile of the arch further has an interlaced band, the soffit has panels with rosettes, and finally the arch spandrels are adorned by medallion heads. The single window in the upper story is rectangular with crossbars, and is again enclosed by a tasteful interlaced band and flanked by two Corinthian half columns, whose shafts are more in the spirit of the Romanesque and Renaissance art, show lozenge panes with rosettes. Above the window extends a frieze with precious acanthus scrolls, and short vertical bands also covered by arabesques, extend to the window of the uppermost story, that with its antique gable adorned by a medallion extending into the roof, and in a similar luxuriant prodigality is enclosed by pilasters covered by arabesques and an acanthus frieze. The perfect refinement of the execution corresponds to the select taste of this small and magnificent building.

This luxuriance is moderated in the succeeding buildings to quiet harmony, that by more sparing detail is effective only by beautiful proportions and well arranged subdivision. No name

first the noble house in Rue de Tabourg, whose narrow facade has a shop in the ground story beside the round-arched doorway of the house, and in each of the two upper stories has two double windows, that are combined in one system of pilasters. On none of the many buildings of the city is shown a subdivision, that was executed with such select refinement even in the least things and still with animated charm (Fig. 77). Each of the two round-arched windows, which according to mediæval fashion are divided by small columns, is enclosed by a blind arch that combines both openings in one whole. The arches rest on fluted pilasters whose abacuses not only correspond to those of the little columns, but even to the mouldings on the great pilasters, that enclose both windows in a system. An acanthus leaf there gives the moulding a support like a console, and the upper part of the shaft of the pilaster is ornamented by a refined arabesque relief. The consistency of the distinguished artist, to whom we owe this facade indeed goes so far, as to give a ring to the little dividing column where the parapet terminates, and to flute the upper part of the column. The tympanum finally shows in the first story festoons with ornamental bands and a little medallion, in the upper story being a larger medallion with a figure relief.

Likewise even after the most elegant period of Francis I or about 1530 dates the beautiful house of Rue de Pierre perrec. In the ground story it has two great openings for shops, but for their considerable width and the slender proportions of the piers, these exhibit depressed arches. Economy of space has here ceased, that even the house doorway is included in one of the great arched openings. But the location of the corridor is indicated in the upper stories by the little windows, that light the upper passages. This arrangement, which opposes the strictly symmetrical feeling of our days (Fig. 78), comes from the sound architectural sense of the time, which without concern expresses the internal division of the rooms on the facade, and not on the contrary places the internal division of the rooms on the Procrustes' bed of symmetry. The division of the wall surfaces consists of a system of slender and rather lean bordering pilasters with the well known lozenge panels and charmingly varied Corinthian capitals. The windows are combined

as in all buildings into one group, are wide and high, with straight lintels and cross mullions. On the plan of the house (Fig. 72), that shows the already described arrangement of most houses of Orleans, it is only to be emphasized, that the connection of the front rooms with the rear house in the upper story is made by a wooden gallery with little columns, that are supported by stone blocks in a dotted line on the plan.

In a similar though simpler way is erected the house of Rue de la vieille poterie, narrow and only consisting of one system, likewise enclosing the house doorway within the single great arch of the ground story, and also shows rectangular windows with cross bars as well as slender flanking Corinthian pilasters in two stories.

Another sort of private house appears in the stately corner house at No. 1. Rue de la Clouterie. Here no shop opens the ground story; in quite an expressive contrast to that commercial house widely opened to traffic the ground story is closed in a dignified manner, and exhibits in its small partly single and partly double round-arched windows, that sparingly open to the broad wall surfaces, that the ground story is here only intended for subordinate service purposes, while the master's dwelling is found in the single upper story, imposing in its lofty proportions. The system of the windows and of the enclosing pilasters is imitated there in Fig. 77 for the beautiful house of Rue du Tabourg, yet somewhat simpler and stronger, the flanking pilasters without arabesques, the capitals like classical Corinthian forms, the whole more attractive by a noble treatment of the members than (as above) by ornamental grace. On one dormer appear hermes as supporters of Ionic capitals, enclosing the coupled round-arched windows.

### 53. Buildings of bricks and ashlar at Orleans.

Besides pure ashlar construction was introduced also in certain examples at Orleans that mode of building, which adopts brick in a greater or lesser extent. An intermediate position is first denoted by the house of Rue de l'Ormerie, which forms the angle of Rue aux Juifs. It belongs to the larger and more dignified of the private houses, but like most has the extremely narrow form of plan, which affords space only for one room besides the very narrow passage. The ground story is opened by

small round-arched coupled windows high above the street; in the principal story are arranged two likewise coupled high windows crowned by antique gables, and in the upper story the windows have straight lintels and cross bars, like the lower. As on most of these Houses the crowning cornice is covered by widely projecting roof. Corinthian pilasters with correctly formed capitals, the shafts fluted on three quarters, divide the masses in both stories, and to obtain a stately expression, care has been taken to leave proper wall surfaces beside the windows instead of placing them close together. The plain clarity of this facade is a further transformation into simplicity of the before described facade of the corner house in Rue de la Clouterie, manifestly indicating the closing time of this epoch. Yet one thing is notable; the earlier unknown endeavor for symmetry, that has created a pendant for the windows for the passage in the house, that finds no explanation from the arrangement of the plan.

Notable is the elongated side facade in the side street, that in the picturesque way of the middle ages is composed of a group of very different parts of varied heights and independent roofing. The high front part of the house is adjoined by the stair tower with its brickwork, its ashlar trim and pointed roof; next this is a low connecting structure enclosing the court, leading to the rear part of the house, that again consists of two independent parts, one being one story and another two story. Into the court leads a wide gateway, and even the rear house has an entrance, both with round arches. The windows are all round-arched, partly single and partly coupled, mostly enclosed by rectangular architraves. In the first story of the front house is placed a handsome bay window on bold corbels, decorated by Corinthian pilasters and crowned by a gabled arch. It has only a small window at the side that permits an oversight of the principal as well as of the side street.

So far nearly all is skilful ashlar work, especially on the principal facade. On the contrary the use of brick is retained for the court. As generally in the more important houses, a portico on columns with a connecting structure at a longer side forms the communication between the stairs of the front house and the rear buildings. The columns with their freely Corinthian

capitals, the archivolts of the arches, the enclosures of the round-arched windows and the angles of the walls, finally the elegant fluted Corinthian pilasters of the upper story are made of ashlar, the wall surfaces being entirely executed in brick. Yet there appears here a striving for artistic treatment, since the surfaces are covered by lozenge patterns in darker bricks.

If brick construction is here retained for the internal parts, this appears finally in its own right on an important house of Rue du battoir vert. This is also a corner house adjoining Rue de Semoi, but of considerably wider plan, the front building with two spacious rooms besides the narrow hall placed at one side, that also leads directly to the winding stairs. The front house differs from the custom there, containing only one row of rooms, whereby the court has gained considerably in extent, though it further is without any artistic importance. Still more light and air is obtained for it, because the connecting wing between front and rear buildings is not placed next the side street, but is against the rear wall of the adjacent house. Next the side street the termination is formed by a wall with a gateway.

Most interesting to us in the entire building is the principal facade. It follows to an extreme the mediaeval principle of the freest subdivision, for without reason it combines luxury with unsymmetry, when it permits the alternation of single and coupled round-arched windows without being compelled by the internal subdivision. Above a high and aristocratically closed ground story with small round-arched windows, that have an ornamental rectangular enclosure with dentil frieze, rise two upper stories, whose high windows are treated with particular elegance. There is the same form in both stories; single or double round-arched windows with stone crossbars, enclosed by rich architraves with dentil caps, crowned by a narrow frieze decorated by masks. The profile of the window bars still has a mediaeval form, the little arch spandrels are filled by elegant foliage, the whole makes an energetic and yet refined effect. But all these forms are executed in cut stone, and the angles of the walls are enclosed by ashlar, but the entire facade is treated in brickwork with dark lozenge patterns like a single great tapestry. In favor of this more picturesque effect, all

subdivision of the large surfaces by members in relief is abandoned, whereby indeed the architectural value of the whole must remain inferior to that of the beautiful ashlar facades, in which the city is so rich.

#### 54. Other private buildings in central France.

If also in the other cities of this blest province is to be found a wealth not far removed from that of Orleans, yet we have here a small gleanings. We begin with Blois, where in spite of many destructions of later and most recent times, a number of houses are preserved, not merely of the days of Francis I, but even of the time of Louis XII. On these private buildings however greatly injured by the hand of time and the worse one of man, the difference between a city like Blois from Orleans is clearly recognized. While there all the sole traffic of a commercial emporium, the narrow form of the plan, the economical utilization of space, the general arrangement of sale shops, one in Blois has to do with the stately houses of eminent nobles that belong to the court, mostly wide and around a court. thus dates even from the time of Louis XII the mansion Hurault, also called "the little Louvre", built by the chancellor Hurault de Cheverney. One enters by a long gateway covered by a depressed vault, whose magnificent sculptures show great injuries. In a corner of this court is seen a little corbelled tower, and on the lintel of the doorway to the stairs, where was formerly represented the hodgehog, is read as an explanation of this emblem of Louis XII the distich (see text):-  
The fountain retains its pretty domical roof ornamented by lead, which is crowned by the figure of a warrior armed with a lance. In the interior is still shown a little cabinet with all its richly carved wood paneling.

from the same time dates the office of the chancellery, located on the corner of Rue neuve and Grande rue. This facade is elegantly adorned by much mutilated sculptures, and at the portal was to be seen recently the ermine of Anne of Brittany, as proof that a noble of the court of the queen of Louis XII had erected for himself this house. The entrance is also here formed by an arched doorway.

In spite of modern transformations and devastations, the mansion d'Aumale at the corner of Rue de la Fontaine des Elus and

of Rue Vauvert yet retains vestiges of the splendid style of that time, as well as the mansion d'Amboise on the place of the chateau, that takes its name from George d'Amboise, the famous minister of Louis XII. The same is true of mansion Sardini in Rue du Puits-Chatel, notable not only by sculptures on its facade, but by a chapel ornamented by a fresco painting of that time. This represents the crucifixion with four saints at the foot of the cross.

From the time of Francis I dates the mansion d'Alluye built by Florimond Robertet, lord of Alluye, minister and secretary of finance under Louis XII and Francis I. Yet another historical reminiscence is attached to this building; in the year 1588 it was occupied by the duke of Guise, who went from here to his death in the chateau. The building was one of the most stately and magnificent; it consisted of four wings grouped around the court, two of which were torn down in our century (19th). It is built of bricks and ashlar with arcades in the court, over which extends a gallery. Medallions with busts of 12 Roman emperors in terra cotta, a favorite ornamentation in the Renaissance period, adorned the gallery. In the angle of the court is also here, as in most private houses, an elegant winding stairway arranged in a projecting tower. In the interior a magnificent fireplace and the ornamental chapel merit consideration. The mantel represented by Rouyer and Darcel, does not belong to the time of Louis XII, as stated, but to the epoch of Francis I, and indeed to its end, as proved by the severely classical character of the forms, particularly of the fluted pilasters and the volute consoles. It bears a Greek inscription. (See text).

The best preserved among the buildings of this epoch at Blois is mansion Denys du Pont, which still bears the name of its builder, a learned jurist. Located in Rue Chartraine, it is distinguished by the refined pilaster architecture of its court and the elegant opened winding stairway ornamented by salamanders and other sculptures, that as usual are arranged in a corner of the court. The internal facades consist of three stories subdivided by corinthian pilasters on stylobates, above which is the magnificent round-arched cornice that forms the termination, which we have learned to recognize on the chateau of



Francis I. On the splendid stairway are seen the arms and devices of the builder and his wife. His motto states:- "Virtue without fortune is crippled," another is "Warmed by ardent desire", with a flaming pastille burner.

A house of the most ornamental early Renaissance, that originated about 1535, is seen at Paray-le-Monial. With its little turrets and roof gables ornamented by crockets, it still pays tribute to the middle ages, but with the elegant windows and the fine pilasters that enclose them, it is ~~xx~~ allied to the allied to the new style. After the so common way of the time the pilasters are continued vertically by dwarf projections, but all these members receive by delicate arabesques and ornamental shell work the stamp of animated charm.

The impression of this early time is borne by a richly treated house in Rheims located in Rue du Marc. It consists of two wings joining at a right angle. The portal shows the flat arch, the windows are coupled in the lower and upper stories, wide and divided by cross medallions. Over the windows of the ground story are seen medallions with busts, above those of the upper story being a relief frieze with combat scenes. Plain pilasters are connected by shorter bands, partly with Composite and partly with Corinthian capitals, that give the surfaces that sportive and ornamental subdivision, that so frequently recalls joinery. On the contrary is attractive here the fanciful and finely treated ornamentation, which is poured in abundance over the surfaces of the pilasters; human figures, birds, lilies, vases with other emblems are interlaced by charming branches of leaves. In the interior on a pavilion with wooden ceiling, that is characterized by elegantly carved ornaments, plants and figures.

At La Mans, close under the west facade of the great cathedral, rises a little private house, that likewise belongs to this time, and makes itself notable by a pretty polygonal bay and elegantly treated roof gable..

At Angers is the mansion d'Anjou or De Figuer, likewise an elegant building of the early Renaissance, meriting consideration by its tall pilasters connected as always by intermediate bands, showing graceful arabesques in their panels.

An elegant house from the last time of Francis I has been p

preserved in Rue des Forges at Dijon. Originally an imposing mansion, by the Revolution and other devastations, there is only the remnant of a building formerly important by the nobility and richness of its treatment, and it is found in a dreary condition of neglect. Enclosed by bad later buildings, its facade rises in two stories above a ground story. Most happily subdivided by projecting columns (Fig. 79). The antique is here handled with full understanding, and the columnar orders neither lack the continuous stylobate, nor the intelligently treated entablature and cornice. In the ground story are slender fluted Composite columns, in the second story are Corinthian with smooth lower portion of the shaft, in the third being lighter Corinthian, likewise mostly fluted, but ornamented at the lower end by free ornamentation. But in spite of this severe classicism the ornamental desire of the early Renaissance has not lost its rights, and this appears both in the arabesques of the window jambs and also in the relief ornament of the bases of the upper columns and of the panels beneath the windows. Under the windows of the principal story are seen combats or horsemen in bold relief, in the upper story genii support a shield with a count's crown and decorated by the band of an order. The windows are large, rectangles with cross mullions.; before the mullions of the upper are placed a slender little column in harmony with the ornamental character, everywhere given to this story. At one corner of this pleasing facade lies a stairs in a round tower, that opens to the court by flat arches. On its parapets are indicated a balustrade in bold relief. The house must have been composed about 1547, since this date is read on one of the upper windows.

Ancient Troyes, so rich in church monuments of the Gothic and Renaissance, possesses in the vicinity of S. Madelaine at the corner of Rue des quinze vingt and Rue du Palais de Justice an interesting private house of richer arrangement, with a charmingly developed polygonal bay window at the angle, treated in the finest Renaissance forms, and with splendid conventionalized iron gratings on the windows of the ground story. The facade of the house is directly entered from the street, and belongs to the most elegant of the time. Splendidly decorated pilasters of the most delicate work, and especially genii

holding a shield of arms give particular charm to the refined building. As the date of erection is read the year 1531.

In Besancon palace Granvella is a great palace erected by the famous cardinal as a private residence for himself, in heavy proportions as Burgundian architecture loved. The erection in careful ashlar construction is skilful, but the effect in general is gloomy and heavy. The same is true of the great nearly square court, whose depressed arches are flanked by Doric half columns, and throughout exhibits beam ceilings, in the interior. The still stately building lacks every charm of the Renaissance.

Of the numerous private houses existing almost everywhere, we shall mention only those of Tours, Joinville (Haute Savoie) and Luxeuil (Haute Savoie).

#### 55. House of Francis I at Paris.

Among the noblest undertakings in private architecture belongs the "House of Francis I", known to all, which was transferred from the village of Moret near Fontainebleau to Paris in the Champs Elysees. The facade of this little building, and even the plan of the whole is indeed suited to modern needs of dwellings, and by this transfer it has been changed in very important points. To this pertain the symmetrical addition of the part abutting the middle arch at the right as well as the heavy attic crowning the building; likewise the filling of the leafy garlands of the frieze with busts of Margaret of Navarre, Diana of Poitiers, Francis I, etc.

To the three great arched windows of the ground story correspond in the upper story three windows divided by a horizontal bar. Each of these systems is enclosed below and above by Splendid Corinthian pilasters, whose surfaces in the upper story exhibit arabesques of the most delicate invention and execution, while before the lower pilasters stand luxurious small columns like candelabras. Likewise the angles of the facade (that on the right is a modern addition) show pilasters with noble arabesques, and also are treated the vertical continuations of all pilasters between the two stories. But the decoration celebrates its highest triumph in the exceedingly rich piece connecting both stories. It shows in bold relief in the middle (modern) busts surrounded by garlands, arms supported by gnomes,

in the side panels being gayer scenes with children having a Bacchic significance; genii swinging the thyrsus and picking grapes. The sole remains of mediaeval art is to be recognized in the varied crownings of the little side windows.

The rear of this magnificent little building has at the middle a projecting flight of steps with two accesses, that leads to a round-arched doorway with rich arabesque ornament, that formerly was in a side wing as Fig. 30 shows. Above this is the salamander flanked by two canopies with little domes, that reappears on the same facade in the tympanum of the beautiful window with cross mullion, on which are placed also two lovely genii riding dolphins. The two other facades are modernized, and also in the sculptures of the principal front are said to be modern additions.

The internal arrangement is modern; only the stairs that ascend at the middle in a straight flight, belong to the original design.

### 56. Private buildings in Languedoc.

In the South, where the magnificent remains of the Roman period never entirely remained without influence in the later development of architecture, the province of Languedoc in particular takes a living part in the Renaissance movement. In several chateaus of the time (S. 43, there meets us a certain overflowing luxuriance of the treatment of form as a memorial of the buildings of this province. Likewise in the cities the competing architecture now commences to follow the general movement.

In Cahors is to be seen a Renaissance house from the earlier time of Francis I, on which are combined mediaeval reminiscences with the full ornamental magnificence of the new style. The portal is low with Gothic profile, horizontal lintel and rounded angles, enclosed by Corinthian pilasters. Above rises in the second story a coupled window, similarly profiled and enclosed, divided by bold crossbars. This entirety as an otherwise simple facade is arranged as a show piece of the first rank. All members, pilasters and window bars, cornice and frieze, overflow with the most elegant arabesques. Similar ornamentation also encloses the richly treated arms, and fills the space between the doorway and window, so that the smallest

space remains without ornamentation.

To the same early time belongs the court of the Jesuit college in Rue des Balances at Toulouse. A high ground story is decorated by elegant little candelabra columns. In the spandrels of the arches of the arcade are seen the medallions with busts so favored in this time. The arch of the doorway exhibits magnificent coffees in the lozenge form. A great flat arch is also coffered and opens over it as a niche. The upper story is made considerably lower, like an attic, that has decorated and projecting Corinthian columns, half fluted. The pedestals on which they stand are connected by a balustrade. The frieze shows little round windows and a rich dentil cornice, that is strongly broken over the columns. On one court facade the upper story contains windows with cross mullions, the other side exhibiting a gayer and splendid loggia, whose depressed round arches are coffered and flanked by magnificent pilasters.

To the more stately buildings of the epoch belongs there a mansion Meynier, whose windows in part have the elegant carved pilasters of the early time of Francis I and mostly cross mullions, partly betray the late time of the century with Barocco hermes, atlantes and fauns with great legs twisted spirally. Likewise the court of its stair tower belongs to the early epoch, as shown by the rich ornamental frieze, the decorated pilasters and tympanums of the arches, the medallions with busts and the spirited arched frieze resting on consoles. Of the internal equipment is to be mentioned a magnificent fireplace and its pilasters with arabesques, genii, festoons of leaves, busts and other reliefs, belonging to the richest of the early time.

In Albi is seen in Rue Timbal a modest brick house with very characteristic rustication on the enclosures of windows and doorways, evidently belonging to about the middle of the 16th century; the cross bars of the windows are decorated by dry atlantes, angels' heads and other figures, as this style loves. Extremely picturesque is the effect of the little court, that is indeed now very neglected. At the left is an arcade half walled up with two very flat arches on a Tuscan middle column, above it in an upper story being another still more depressed arch, in the angle is a round stair tower with simple winding stairs, and on the right wing between the rather dryly treated

windows, are the very animated busts of Francis I and his queen in a niche. In spite of unimportant proportions, the whole is full of character and is original. In the same street is still seen a little half timber house of the same epoch, the windows enclosed by a system of Ionic pilasters, on which occurs a direct transfer of the stone style to wood construction, which we perceive everywhere in the Renaissance, and that always denotes the decadence of independent wooden architecture.

Here may be added from the neighboring Dauphiny on the border of Languedoc, a costly house, splendid in all the luxuriance of the early Renaissance, that is preserved in Valence. A magnificent portal with straight lintel and rounded angles, surrounded by a lavish abundance of ornament and enclosed by decorated pilasters, on whose bases are even medallion heads (like those on the Certosa at Pavia), forms the principal part of the facade. A niche with shell and angles holding arms, the genii beside them extending a garland, over which is a no less luxuriously ornamented window with crossbar, is there combined in a whole of the highest richness.

#### 57. The city hall at Orleans.

as the Renaissance had been introduced into the cities in numerous magnificent works, first by the nobility, but also by the competing wealthy citizen class, Then it should now likewise receive recognition in monuments erected for the community. City halls until in the 16th century by their Gothic forms, a proof of the strong adherence of the cities to the traditions of the middle ages (see S. 13), now became evidence in which is combined the changed tendency of the minds of the citizens to a splendid expression. One of the earliest, perhaps indeed the first of all these buildings, was erected by the city of Orleans. So early certainly as de Cattois allows it to originate at about the middle even of the 15th century, the building was certainly not erected, and if the master Viart, to whom it as well as the city hall at Beaugency are attributed, then this authorship cannot be stated.

As its appearance indicates (Fig. 31), the building originated in the early time of the reign of Francis I, about 1520. It consists of a tolerably regular rectangle, whose facade looks on a narrow street and is finely divided. In nearly a

symmetrical development, it is divided into four systems of windows,, each enclosed by pilasters, that rise from the base to the roof cornice and produce a consistent vertical subdivision. Between them is left so much surface as to be able to add beside the windows of the principal story canopies with statues, and at the same give a balance by closed wall surface. The proportions of the facade have thereby acquired an extremely happy effect. On the contrary it belongs to the wonderful fancies of this early epoch, that the architect has placed the capitals of the pilasters at about the middle of their height without any reason, instead of directly beneath the cornice; an inconceivable mistake in forms and proportion. Instead of well considered members, he has thereby used ugly dwarf pilasters with plain bands as a continuation of them. All is moreover executed with richness and refinement in details, as then the entire surface of the ground story including the bands is covered by a tapestry pattern of lilies in delicate relief. A special piece of magnificence is formed by the portal, placed beneath the second window from the right. Spanned by a round arch and adorned by ornaments and rich members, it is enclosed by pilasters resting on half columns. The shafts of the latter are covered by curved flutes and ornaments in the manner of the Romanesque transition style. Above the portal extends a frieze with weapons and ornaments, terminating worthily this luxurious little masterpiece. The windows of the ground story are simply rectangular and enclosed by plain architraves, crowned by a biant moulding after the Gothic style.

A grander effect in contrast to the depressed proportions of the ground story, is the high upper story with its great windows divided by doubled crossbars, rich niches with canopies and the extremely magnificent crowning cornice (Fig. 31). The proportions here are of rare nobility, and the whole has a harmonious effect. The enclosure and mullions of the window are still entirely in Gothic form, combined of slender little columns and deep hollows. Likewise is it a mediaeval idea, the use of perforated round arches that form the separate ending in graceful play. Also the niches of the statues with their canopies are executed entirely in Gothic forms, yet the architect has intelligently given them a flat termination in order not to intersect his principal cornice. He has thereby sealed

the rule of a the horizontal, the justification of the new style, and by the wise subdivision of the mediaeval forms employed has ensured to them a civic right in the new style of architecture. Otherwise the Renaissance is clearly expressed in the slender pilasters, the angles supporting arms on the window parapet, the profiles and ornaments of the mouldings. Only in the crowning cornice yet appears a compromise between both styles in a happy way.

The principal form of this, the round-arched frieze is borrowed from the Romanesque style, like the columns of the portals, and it merits consideration, that the early Renaissance has often employed the forms of this style intimately related to it. But it knows how to transform it in its sense, to animate it anew, and gives us therein a notable indication of the spirit a creative architectural epoch understands how to make current again the forms of the past. The shells filling the arches, the ornaments of the members and the little spandrels show this. Only between the pilasters and the frieze is obtained no organic connection, since in general the loose composition gives evidence that the masters of that time mostly still uncertain, fumbled between both architectural styles. Directly over the cornice lies the gutter with its magnificent rosettes and gargoyles, and then follows the perforated balustrade of the gallery, that extends before the windows of the roof story; this with its vesicular forms is the last echo of the flamboyant. The entire composition of this rich crowning evidently forms the preliminary step for that still grander and more developed crowning cornice, that we have learned to know on the inner facade at Blois. Also the two little pepperbox turrets on the angles are a mediaeval conception, also more allied to the Romanesque than the Gothic style.

Finally the dormer windows with their cross bars are enclosed by Corinthian pilasters, that are connected horizontally by a cornice. Very inorganically rise over these crowning pointed gables, that by their steepness and the closing crossflowers belong to the Gothic conception. Furthermore it is to be noted, that the facade has experienced many injuries, indeed less by the Huguenots, "the ungrateful sons of our Christian civilization," Dr. Cattois flatteringly calls them, but by the Revolution, that especially tore from their niches the five



Revolution, that especially tore from their niches the five statues of French kings and destroyed them. At present the building is properly cared for and is changed into the museum of the city.

The plan is simple. A corridor covered by cross vaults, beside which at both sides lie important rooms with great cross vaults on octagonal piers, leads to a stairway by which one reaches an elevated court. Here rises at the right a mighty belfry, rectangular and not square, with a round stairs tower extending to an imposing height and terminated by a slender spire at a height of about 130 ft. The upper story opens at all sides by high gothic windows as a belfry. The window caps are pointed ogee arches, and with the finials and the vesica gallery at the beginning of the roof clearly prove the late Gothic origin. The statement agrees well therewith, that R. Gohier erected the tower about 1442 and completed the work about 1453.

The upper story of the front building in its entire extent consists of a hall 60 ft. long by 25 ft. wide. At its ends are placed two chimneys and two doorways lead into it from a vestibule. The latter is in the form of a narthex, and with the winding stairway extends the entire length before the hall.

#### 53. City hall at Beaugency.

The first place that followed powerful Orleans in the erection of a city hall in the new architectural style was the little city of Beaugency, located on the Loire between Blois and Orleans. Its style is so nearly allied to that of the city hall at Orleans, that one must decide on the probability of the same master. As the date of erection is given the year 1526. In any case the little building was first built after the model given by Orleans, not before that as Dr. Gattois assumes. Aside from this, that as a rule the great and powerful communities decided the architectural development, and first broke the road by important works for the new tendency, there also certain forms on the city hall at Beaugency that first exhibit the further development and in part the higher perfection of those beginning in Orleans. This is expressly true of the noble crowning cornice, that in richness and nobility surpasses that of Orleans, and places itself beside the magnificent one of the

chateau of Blois (Fig. 32).

The little building consists of an irregular rectangle, that contains in the ground story a portico opening on the street, in the upper story the great hall of the council. The access lies at the rear in a polygonal staircase with broad winding steps. The facade belongs to the richest and most ornamental of the time (Fig. 32). The great half closed arches with flat depressed arches by which the ground story opens to the street, are manifestly taken from the arrangement for shops employed in the neighboring Orleans. Ornamental and elegant is the portal with the little coupled windows above it. In a free manner the upper story follows its own principle of arrangement and distribution, without regard to the axial divisions of the lower story. Therefore its pilasters are set on corbels with volutes. Beneath the arms and emblems that fill the window panels is noted the salamander of Francis I. Very beautiful are the proportions, subdivision and decoration of the three great windows with their cross bars animated by precious arabesques, and no less tasteful are the ornaments on the capitals of the pilasters and the shafts of the architraves. But the highest magnificence is developed in the crowning cornice, that only finds its equal on the chateau of Blois. The surfaces of the upper story are finally decorated by a lily pattern as a proof of the unsatiated love of decoration of this time.

#### 59. The city hall at Paris.

The city of Paris possessed in the middle ages for the deliberations of its representatives a house on Place Greve, the so-called house with piers, which was purchased in 1357 from a private man for the sum of 2380 livres. According to the descriptions of contemporaries and a miniature picture of the 15th century, it was an imposing building with an arched portico in the ground story, two courts, a chapel and a great hall. With the great increase of the population in the residence city, which then began to be a city of the world, the building had long been insufficient, when the aldermen made a decision on Dec. 13, 1529, to go to the king for permission to purchase several adjacent houses and for the erection of a new and greater city hall. Francis I willingly gave the authority requested, and on July 15, 1538, the corner stone was laid with great car-

ceremony. As designer of the plans and highest conductor of the execution is named Domenico Boccador from Cortona, who received therefor an annual salary of 250 livres. Under him was the master mason P. Sambiches with 25 sous daily wages, and for the carpentry was engaged J. Asselin with 75 livres annual salary. One already sees by the relation of these numbers, that the Italian exceeded in the prominent position as designing and supervising architect those merely executing masters.

The construction was carried on energetically at first, so that until 1541 the three wings that enclosed the court in front, at the rear and on the right side next the Seine, were substantially completed. Particularly the court was finished in great part on the three sides indicated, as it now still appears. But since on July 2, 1541, on the approach of hostile troops to the city of Paris, the sum of 34,000 livres must be paid for fortifications, half the workmen were discharged, and the building was more slowly continued till 1548 with reduced forces. A plan drawing of the year 1588 shows only the ground story left rough, above which rose three unequal gables; only the pavilion extending on the right to the Seine was completed. In the year 1589 the last very ruinous remnant of the house on piers and the house of the porter threatened to fall suddenly, and must be quickly torn down. It is easily conceivable, that in the long time of the religious disturbances and the civil wars, the city found neither desire nor means to carry on the building. When peace and security returned to the realm of Henry IV, the building again began with new zeal after 1600, and in 1607 the facade "with its pilasters, mouldings, ornamentation, cornice, attic and pediment", was completed in its principal parts. There yet remained to erect the clock tower of the middle portion, that should have the form of an open lantern. The executing masters were directed to erect the clock tower in two stories with the form of a lantern, "according to the drawing on parchment"--- whereby indeed only the design of Boccador is to be understood, --- "which must surmount the dial, and on the last of which will be placed a bell to serve as a clock". The architects then expressed themselves, that the roof should have the form, construction and fashion of the roof of the great hall of the Louvre". After 1603 the work of completion was now undertaken with zeal,

the temporary columns of the ground story were replaced by fluted Corinthian, the cornice was crowned by a balustrade, which Boccador's design did not require, and in the tympanum over the middle portal on a ground of black marble was executed the equestrian statue of Henry IV in high relief. It was the work of the excellent sculptor P. Biard, who is termed the "architect and sculptor of the king". The erection of the building was supervised at this time by master P. Guillain. After 1609 was erected the pavilion of the left corner wing, exactly corresponding to its precedent, when until 1612 was added the bell tower with clock and bell, and finally in a very slow construction from 1615 to 1618 the left wing of the court and thus the entire building was completed. After the middle of the last century (18th), when the rooms were ever found more inadequate, plans for extension were drawn, that however were first executed in modern times from 1837 to 1848 according to the plans of Godde and Lesuer in a distinguished manner. Burned by the communists in 1871, the building was since again restored by Bally and De Perthes.

To obtain an idea of the plan of the old building, we must conceive to be removed the extended wings with the two side courts, the stair hall with its grand double stairs and the great festal hall in the rear wing. We then obtain the trapezoidal ground form of the old city hall increasing in its depth, which was grouped in four stories around the court of like plan. The building at the rear was separated from the Gothic parish church of S. Jean en Greve, which was adjoined by the great rectangular chapel of S. Jean. At the left side was the chapel of the Holy Ghost with the hospital extending beside it; on the contrary on the right it was bordered by Rue de Martroi, the entrance to which was skilfully included in the building by a great gateway of the angle pavilion erected there. The facade is made entirely symmetrical; in the middle is the principal entrance, flanked on each side by three divisions with windows, then as terminations are the massive angle pavilions with their gateways.

By a polygonal flight of steps one passes to the entrance of the corridor, which lies in the axis of the building with a number of steps, just as in the city hall at Orleans, reaching the trapezoidal court lying about 12 ft. above the level of the street.

Originally hypethral, it was only recently covered by a glass roof, was surrounded by arcades on piers, behind which extend the offices in a single series. Several conveniently arranged stairways, all ascending in a straight flight and turning on the first landing, afford sufficient communications everywhere. The principal stairway is still always important, and lies at the right of the entrance. It has depressed arched vaults over the landings, treated with cross ribs and keystones in gothic fashion. On the contrary its rampant tunnel vaults are divided into coffers in a splendid manner with manifold ornamentation. These parts and their characteristic architecture belong to those, which have most faithfully retained the original expression. The same is true of the internal facades of the court. In the ground story they exhibit Ionic, in the upper story Corinthian half columns, all without flutes, otherwise with their stylobates, entablatures and cornices, created with a full knowledge of antique forms. In the spandrels of the arches of the lower arcade are inserted medallions, evidently for busts. The ceilings of the galleries show a great diversity in the subdivision and decoration, all in the sense of the antique. The early Renaissance with its sportive play of form and its mediaeval echoes fails but once, strangely enough, in the luxuriantly decorated enclosures of the dormer windows.

Let us again finally pass before the facade to test its artistic expression. Above a low ground story treated as a base for the superstructure, rises a lofty story, and above this is a still more imposing upper story. Then the middle building terminates with a cornice and balustrade, while the corner pavilions still exhibit a third story decorated by Corinthian pilasters, above which rise the steep roofs. These mighty closing masses effectively balance the slender bell tower of the middle building with its splendidly ornamented clock and the two octagonal lanterns. The subdivision and decoration of the facade has great richness. In the ground story deep arched niches flank the windows, which are rectangular, divided by crossbars and terminated by antique gables. Strongly projecting Corinthian columns are fluted and rest on high stylobates, supporting strongly broken cornices, and give an uncommonly effective membering. The upper story has enormous windows with a clear height of 20 ft., and

are therefore divided by doubled crossbars. but the simpler this inclosure, the richer is the decoration of the intermediate walls. Above the columns of the ground story rise short pilasters, richly decorated by projecting volutes. On their very strongly projecting capitals rise slender shrines crowned by round gables, serving to enclose elegant arched niches, that contain statues. In this original decoration the sculpture of the early Renaissance again claims its rights. That is true in an increased degree, even in the Gothic tendency of the canopies of the niches, which are added in the ground story of the two pavilions. In these decorations, as well as in the high roofs with their windows and chimney caps the Italian architect has made his concessions to the French national spirit.

#### 60. Public fountains.

Hand in hand with the striving for richer ornamentation of public life, goes the erection of stately fountains, that henceforth are impressed on monumental works in the sense of the French Renaissance. The middle ages already has devoted a particular preference to these monuments; but in the Gothic epoch the church architecture acquired a too onesided influence on their form and treatment, and it could not be regarded in an esthetic sense as a suitable and truly artistic solution, when the form of a Gothic tower in a reduced imitation as a pointed pier, came into use as a motive for spouting water. For the metal pipes that must supply the water in such a case, in their purely external addition to the body of the monument, they nowise became artistic bearers of their function.

The Renaissance returned to the form of a wide basin, from the middle of which as a rule rose a richly decorated conical pier. One of the most ornamental monuments of this kind, still from the epoch of Louis XII, is possessed by the city of Tours. J. de Beaune, lord of Semblancay and governor of Touraine, caused it to be designed in Carrara marble by the famous sculptor M. Columb, whose nephews B. and M. Francois executed it in the year 1510. The little monument consists of an octagonal basin, from which the pyramidal pillar rises 15 ft. The basin has on its corners original dwarf columns with fluted shafts and in the ornamental panels are scrolls, festoons and floating bands. The pyramid develops in a number of height divisions, in whose

members and mouldings the art of the Renaissance has executed by the wealth of its imagination. Winged sports whose right character can no longer be determined, eject the animating element. Among the numerous arms and emblems found on the surfaces are seen the Initials of Louis XII and of his queen Anne, surrounded by tasteful ornaments. Very striking are the upper parts, where elegant volutes support the instruments of the crucifixion at the apex, extending on the form of a post with ogee top. Thus a weak echo of a religious element occurs in this purely secular monument.

Another graceful monument of this kind is that reproduced in Fig. 83, the fountain erected at Mantes in 1519 to 1521. From an octagonal basin rises a polygonal pier, on which rests the round bowl decorated by an ornamental band of reliefs. Above this rises a pier entirely divided into sculpture, that bears a still more richly ornamented bowl. On both bowls are found masks from which the water streams into the basin. The character of the whole is that of a sportive ornamental early Renaissance.

A work of greater extent is fountain Delille at Clermont-Ferrand, a representation of which is given in Fig. 34. It was erected in the year 1515 by Jacques of Amboise near the cathedral, but was recently transferred to Place Champeix, where the octagonal basin was awkwardly replaced by a round one. In its sportively decorated elevation and even in part in the details of the ornamentation, it still contains certain Gothic reminiscences, that in an ornamental way are combined with the details of the Renaissance, with pilasters decorated by arabesques, as well as additions of figures of many kinds. The whole makes an original and fancifully gay impression.

The fountain of the Innocents at Paris, the noble work of J. Goujon, is more fully mentioned in S. 63.

## Chapter VI. Renaissance under the last Valois kings.

## A. Principal masters and their works.

## 61. Changed conditions of the time.

When Francis I died, he left to his son and successor, if Brantome must be credited, a state treasure of three or four millions without counting the yearly income. Henry II entered into power, filled with the desire of treading in the footsteps of his father, surpassing him in magnificence, splendor and fame wherever possible. A handsome man, well grown and stately, to whom the dark color of his face gave a particularly manly expression, hardened and skilled in the physical exercises, he imitated him not without success in the knightly appearance of his father. Unfortunately given to war and to a soldier's life, he exposed himself to danger like a common soldier; he had something of that spirit of personal courage, that distinguished his father. An excellent horseman and passionate lover of horses, he astonished by his knightly bearing; not less than Francis I was he addicted to the pleasures of the chase, especially hunting the stag, exposing himself to its exertions and dangers, braving all weathers. A master in the different kinds of playing ball, he also took therein for himself the hardest and most dangerous parts, indeed not for the love of winnings, for then the parties bet only 750, 1125 to 1375 francs, not as later 15,000 or 22,500 or even double, and the king always distributed his winnings to his companions. Likewise besides the lord of Bonnavet, he was the best jumper at the court, and to spring over a moat 20 ft. wide was easy for him. On such occasions he loved to allow his skill and strength to appear before the ladies of the court, and the shrewd Catherine de Medici never failed in seeing, that a splendid gathering of beautiful ladies was not wanting.

The relations with this remarkable wife were peculiar. Egotistic and coldly calculating, she must suppress her love of power, the only passion of her life, and quietly allow the supremacy of Diana of Poitiers, whom Henry elevated to duchess of Valentinois. The intriguing Florentine in the firm conviction that her time would come, even favored the connection with this principal mistress, as she did not scruple for a moment to entangle her husband by the beautiful ladies of her surroundings,



and all influential men at the court in love intrigues, and to corrupt them as far as possible. Also in this respect the customs at the court of Henry II were not merely a continuation of those of his father, whose court Brantome already terms "as quite nicely corrupt", but the son knew how to surpass his model. A monumental confirmation of this fact will be found in this, that while Francis I placed on his buildings only the name of his queen in addition to his own, Henry II did not shrink from distributing the initial and symbol of his concubine lavishly everywhere. From these conditions came the ever increased tendency to festivals and pleasures of all kinds, tournaments, masquerades, exhibitions, ballets and dances, which in the description of the life of this king by Brantome make themselves so extremely prominent. It is only necessary to recall the festivities at the entry of the king into Lyons, where alternated gladiatorial combats, sea fights, after the antique fashion, with the then almost unknown in France, the performance of a tragedy, and the illumination of the entire city formed the conclusion. Hand in hand therewith went the yet increase of the external appearance of the entire life. We shall only recall the noble armors with inlaid ornaments in gold or the hammered reliefs, the magnificent tapestries, the famous faience, that is designated as the "faience of Henry II".

But if we examine more carefully, we soon find that the son still merely externally imitated the father, and this is particularly true in the domain of ideal endeavors. Likewise following therein the traces of his father, Henry protected and promoted science and art. To a number of able and learned men he gave pensions and support, the poet Jodelle received from him 1375 francs for his tragedy of Cleopatra, the cold Ronsard, who was the delight of the time, called the king "his support", he caused a magnificent chateau to be erected for his mistress, and the undertakings begun by his father, particularly the Louvre, and the chateau of Fontainebleau as well as many others, were continued with no less splendor. But that personal relation to the learned, poets and artists, which occurred with Francis I in humane and amiable ways and was based on a deeper appreciation of all intellectual creations, especially in art, that warm personal participation, which lent to all creations of art

Francis I the charm of an individual freshness and grace, we seek in vain in Henry II. To him it is more an external splendor, his promotion of art does not spring from the love of it, but from love of show and lust for fame. Likewise the creations originating during his reign (1547-1559), although already a cooler inspiration, a stronger sway of reflection are recognized, those monuments of the French Renaissance, in which came to full development what the epoch of Francis I had begun in lavish germ the flower, in which the national architectural spirit was more deeply imbued and saturated by the antique and offered its noblest works.

A gradual transformation progressed slowly but surely, that was completed during the reigns of the three sons of Henry, who competed with each other for the prize of wretchedness. The feebleness imparted to them by their ancestor by his vacillating and irregular life, by increasing party strife and the disgraceful persecution of the Huguenots, and finally by his senseless extravagance, now went on increasing. Already Francis I must defray by oppressive imposts the costs, which his wars and magnificent court increased; but his regulated finances prevented worse consequences. Under Henry II, whose senseless burdens by constant wars, luxurious court and extravagant equipment of mistresses shook the foundations of the national wealth, the annual deficit rose to two and a half millions, immense for that time. With this burden of debt he left to his sons the evermore insolent factions of the great, before all being the desire for power by the Guises, the unsolved religious question of the beginning civil war. The three miserable sons of Henry, Francis II, who in the single year of his reign (1559-1560) increased the burden of debt to 43 millions, Charles IX (1560-1574), the true son of his father, and the artful Henry III (1574-1588) heaped on the unfortunate country all the horrors and abominations of the religious and civil wars. All three were systematically debased by the atrocious intrigues of their mother, intentionally enervated by licentiousness, were weak-minded tools in the hand of this female Machiavel. Without heart and conscience, without truth and faith, traitorously wavering between the parties, she is the incarnation of the infamous Italian politics of that time. No wonder that the pages of the French history are befouled with

blood in this epoch, that under Francis II at the discovery of Gonde's conspiracy against the Guises, twelve hundred nobles were beheaded, that under Charles IX the horror of the night of St. Bartholomew broke on the unsuspecting Protestants, that Henry III by the same cowardly treachery freed himself from the Guises.

In such times when morality was poisoned, the national welfare was ruined, freedom of conscience trampled underfoot, the country was devastated by murder and fire, one must speak of splendid works of art, the historian must go to the work with depression. Particularly if this concerns monuments in which the love of magnificence at least for the fame of the great was perpetrated at the cost of the entire people, in which will be recognized at the first glance only manifestations of self love and variety. Yet there remains something else for deeper meditations. Just in the time when human nature seems to have turned out its dark side, when an inimical mixture of frivolity and bigotry, of brutal power and insidious treachery poisoned the air, there is a twofold need to seek also the points of light, to uphold the consoling certainty, that the noble are only depressed and not destroyed entirely. Even for Catherine de Medici we must not forget, that besides the wily Italian politics she also brought the love of art of her family to France, and during a apparent reigns of her sons as an active patroness of the arts, particularly of architecture, she exerted a beneficial influence. But especially if we observe the courageous faith of the Protestants, the ardent tendency against State and Church terrorism, and aspirations of scientific life, in spite of the civil war also in the second half of the 16th century made its unrestrained advance, how high stands that fresh century of spirits above those later epochs, when the leaden roof of despotism ever more widely extended over Europe, and even in Germany all those lands, which then joyfully attached themselves to the religious rebirth, now long since reduced by Hapsburg Jesuitism and bloody dragoonades to the only true faith, buried in the gloomy spiritual opposition of the papacy.

So we gladly turn to the powerful intellectual life of that time. Thus we are refreshed in this epoch by the gleam of light, opposed to the desolate unbelief mixed with Barocco superstition,

which makes so offensive to us the appearance of Catherine de Medici and her kindred, and that breaks from the works of a single thinker like M. de Montaigne, and so also the art creations of the time are evidences of the intellectual life and the sense of beauty, and are very welcome to us. But that in them henceforth prevails a different expression will result from a closer consideration.

#### 6. Transformation of the architecture.

In the later time of Francis I, French architecture had stripped off the last vestiges of the middle ages, and elevated itself from the sportive use of antique elements to a clear understanding and systematic treatment. Since Henry II sought in all points to imitate his father, then is also the architecture first the direct continuation of the tendency in which ended the previous epoch. Already the fact that the series of important buildings begun by Francis I, like the Louvre and the chateau of Fontainebleau, were to be completed, caused an adherence to the forms previously employed. The noble charm of the closing epoch of Francis I therefore continued a long time. Meanwhile however many new conditions made themselves felt, from which gradually resulted a strong transformation of architecture.

The decisive one is, that shortly before the middle of the century appeared a series of native architects, which no longer like the earlier are plain mediaeval foremen, but feel themselves to be free artists, participate in the humanistic culture of the time, and complete their studies in Rome on the monuments of antique art. Only the Italian architects invited into the country had previously assumed such a position, and so the native architects henceforth competed with the Italians, not without entering into a definite opposition to them. By these entirely changed external conditions a new element came into architecture, that of the properly modern subjectivity. The personality of the different architects consciously expressed itself in the various works, and the history of architecture now becomes, as it had already long been in Italy, the history of the architects. Likewise with an individual stamp on the works, there remains a common national ground tendency, which clearly differentiates it from the Italian. This national element may be recognized in the plans, in the elevations as well

as in the decoration. What concerns the form of plan is, that this now obtains the fully developed regularity and symmetry, that everywhere lies in the programme of modern architecture. The many independent extensions, the round corner towers, the projecting polygonal stair halls, in which the preceding epoch took pleasure, are dropped and the facades are characterized by clear and distinct rectangular directions of the lines. The stairways become included in the interior with straight ascending flights, then reversed backward, as already the Romans brought into use in their theatres, amphitheatres, baths and similar buildings. There are also found sometimes very rich stairways with double flights; yet there are also exceptions. Yet there remains as a genuine French peculiarity the arrangement of pavilions at the angles, also indeed in the middle of the facade, which by their mass and also mostly by greater height produce an effective rhythm of the lines. This is the last echo of the mediaeval towers, indeed translated into entirely modern forms.

In the elevations make themselves felt as national elements as before the great rectangular windows with their cross mullions, and before all the steep roofs with numerous tall chimney caps, and the dormer windows on all parts of the building, especially on the pavilions. The latter in particular are also developed by preference, and if Gothic traditions yield in their crownings to the antique gables, horizontal, round and even already broken, then in the ornamental treatment nothing is saved, even of the use of hermes and caryatids.

This leads us to the entire details of the artistic membering and decoration, in which the individual character of the different artists is most strikingly recognized. One soon distinguishes among the artists like P. Lescot, the fuller use of relief, the richer abundance of the ornament from the dry and more reserved mode of expression, as employed by P. de l'Orme, for example on chateau S. Maur. On the whole there makes itself apparent first an endeavor for simple and severe means of expression, for a certain quiet earnestness of the surface decoration, such as contemporary Italians brought into power, like Vignola and Palladio. In these are recognized the more accurate study of antique remains and of Vitruvius, the predominance of a theoretical tendency, which at the same time is expressed in the literary

works of Bullant, du Perceau, de l'Orme. In the subdivision of the surfaces the Doric pilaster wins supremacy, and a system of niches is added thereto, as for example on the court of the Louvre and on the chateau of Ancy-le-Franc. But soon it was found that the numerous pilaster orders made the facade rather monotonous and puerile, which by the generally low height of the stories of French buildings --- a natural result of the climatic conditions --- that appeared the more prominently. Therefore those experiments by arranging two stories in one colossal order of pilasters to give the facade an expression of dignity and size, of which we have already had an example in S. 36 in the later buildings of Chantilly. In these solutions the French architects are entirely original, as the consideration of Charleval (S. 76) will prove later.

On the whole these French works now indeed escape a certain coldness just as little as the allied Italian, indeed even a sobriety of expression, and sometimes one finds the air of this chill, just as in the ode of Ronsard, but also frequently like the noble clarity of an essay of Montaigne. It even appears not rarely, as if architecture would do penance in the sack and ashes of a joyless conventional Dorism and a "morose" rustication for the joyful follies of its harmlessly sportive youth under Francis I. But besides this more severe conception another soon wins a place, that may be termed the direct opposition, the breaking forth of a wanton fanciful tendency, but which no longer appears in the free and amiable naivness of the early epoch, but in an appreciable change to the Barocco. Thus the "white house", which Charles of Bourbon added to chateau Gaillon (S. 16), by its Doric rusticated columns, the ugly hermes with butterfly wings and with volutes instead of arms, by the grotesque Pans with goat legs interlaced crosswise as a foolish show piece of this false architecture. Picturesque and even theatrically animated atlantes, crouching Pans with doubled butterfly wings, windows with broken and scrolled eaves, overloading by foliage shooting wildly into leaves, are seen on the terrace building of chateau Vallery (S. 24). This fantasy has the more apparent effect, that it goes together with a well known and correct treatment, the rule of reflection shines through everywhere, and the absence of naivety is thus clearly recognized. Such buildings often vary in their details between monotony and overloading.

as the time itself fluctuates between fanatic bigotry and shameless excess. But it is very singular that the severity then prevailing in Italy, the breaking loose of this carnival of folly, in which we again have to recognize a true national peculiarity. For there is reflected in it that tendency to forced excess, which the Frenchman, whose line of movement constantly runs to extremes, has left since then in the domain of intellectual life. Buildings like those described above at Caillon and Valléry may be termed grimaces of architecture, and such grimaces also elsewhere sufficiently made by French art. Meanwhile we must not forget, that by its men inferior to Michelangelo was already given a conceivable advance toward the freeing of the subjective imagination. Yet there always stands the degenerate Renaissance of Italy still earnest and strong in contrast to the excesses of French art. particularly does this architecture differ from the pompous pathos of the later Italian Barocco style by its characteristic striving for a false grace, which however strays so far from its aim, that it rather changes into the farcical and the burlesque.

### 33. P. Lescot and J. Goujon.

At the head of the great masters of French Renaissance we place the amiable form of P. Lescot, in whom the imaginative art of the early French Renaissance was purified by the study of the antique, and finds exactly a classical expression. As it appears, he was born in Paris about 1510 as the son of the lord of Clagny, his father of the same name, who belonged to the important court officials in the council of Francis I. Growing up as the son of a noble family in pleasant conditions, the young Pierre felt himself quite early attracted to the sciences and arts, as his friend Ronsard informs us in a long poem:-

"Thou, L'Escot, whose name flies to the stars,  
Hast a natural equal; for being at school,  
The destiny of thy spirit could not be forced,  
When as always with the ink thou wast seen to trace  
Some beautiful picture, and already a gnomon,  
To place angles, lines and points for a map.  
Then reaching maturity at the end of twenty years,  
Thy courageous spirit could not be content  
Without learnedly combining with painting

The arts of mathematics and of architecture,  
Wherein thou hast so risen to honor  
That the ancient age is by thee excelled."

That he went to Rome and studied there the antique monuments, there can be no doubt, even if not confirmed by written evidence. His works sufficiently prove this, for then existed in France no other means for obtaining a thorough knowledge of antique architecture. After his return he must soon have attracted the notice of Francis I, as Ronsard again informs us:-

"Henceforth the king Francis, lover of letters,  
First admirer of thy divine intellect,  
Loved thee above all; this was at thy age  
Little honor to be loved by such a great personage."

It is certain that after 1546 he supervised the erection of the Louvre, which he conducted without interruption till his death in the year 1578. How greatly Henry I, esteemed him, we learn from Ronsard's narration:-

"Henry, who after him held the sceptre of France,  
Having perfect knowledge of thy worth,  
Will honor thy knowledge, so well that this great king,  
Wished to listen to no other men than thee."

The king appointed him to his council and as almoner, also as abbot of Clermont and finally in the year 1554 a canon at the church of Notre Dame in Paris. Thus he must have received the lesser consecration, that met with less objection on account of his careful and even learned education. It is characteristic of the time, that the chapter of Notre Dame rejected him on account of his beard, which he wore according to the custom of the court. Only on his suggestive plea, the chapter dispensed him from the obligation of a canon by allowing himself to be shaved at least once in each three weeks, and accepted him with his beard in its ranks.

Lescot appears not to have belonged to the very busy architects of the time. His fortune did not depend on his earnings, and the position at the court may have entirely satisfied him. We only know that he erected the rood screen in S. Germain l'Auxerrois in the years 1541-1544, whose sculptures were executed by J. Goujon. Then he erected in 1550 the fountain of the Innocents or of the nymphs, where the same sculptor aided him. The



rood screen was torn down in 1745, and only a few reliefs from it are preserved in the Louvre. It consisted of three arches, the middle one forming the main entrance to the choir, while those at the sides contained altars enclosed by balustrades. Each arch was faced by two Corinthian columns, and in the spandrels were seen angels with the implements of martyrdom. Above the columns rose the four evangelists, and at the middle of the attic extended a great relief of the burial of Christ.

The fountain was attached to the church of Innocents and opened by an arch to the Rue aux fers and with two to that of S. Denis. About 1738 at the destruction of the church the fountain was carefully removed, and then with the addition of a fourth arch in a rather senseless way was rebuilt as a square pavilion.

On Aug. 3, 1546, Francis I appointed Lescot architect of the Louvre, and after the year 1550 he received in this position a monthly salary of 100 livres, considerable for that time, when for example we compare with it that of D. Boccador, who received for the erection of the city hall at about the same time only 250 livres as annual salary.

Before we speak of Lescot's principal building, the artist is to be considered, that we have already found connected with him, and to whom also the rich sculptured ornamentation of the Louvre is due. But not merely as a sculptor, and indeed as preeminent among all contemporary masters in France, but also as architect was J. Goujon frequently mentioned. J. Martin in his dedication of his translation of Vitruvius names Goujon, who drew for him the illustrations in his book, as "recently architect of Monsignor the Constable and now one of yours", i.e. of Henry II. Likewise he is named in the accounts of the cathedral of Rouen as "stonecutter and mason", and in the abstract of Vitruvius, that in 1556 J. Gardet and D. Bertin published, he is termed "sculptor and architect of great fame". Certainly no building can be referred to him, and it is even little probable, that he executed such; but his drawings for Martin's Vitruvius and the letter to the reader, that he himself published at the end of the book, sufficiently prove that he thoroughly understood architecture theoretically. He impressively recommends to those skilled in building the study of geometry and perspective, calling attention to the examples of Raphael, Mantegna (whom he calls not

inferior to him in his time), Michelangelo, Sangallo, Bramante. "Thus feeling that they have acquired by labor and constant practice, they were singularly delighted to pursue this noble subject, that their immortal fame was extended over the entire circumference of the earth". Likewise he mentioned Serlio, Lescot and P. de l'Orme as excellent architects, and then said that he had made these drawings because "in the past there had been some difficulty in understanding the text of the said Vitruvius, especially in the formation of certain members in masonry, a thing proceeding from the bad knowledge that our modern masters have of this, which is manifestly shown by the works that they have made in them, so much are they out of proportion and out of all symmetry".

Not merely the drawings, but even more the explanations given by himself, prove Goujon a trained architect. One reads what he says on the importance of perspective for the proportions of different members; as he brings into consideration the location of the building for the modification of its profile, whether it lies in a narrow alley or on an open place; how he establishes perspective as particularly determinative for the form of the portal (p. 81); how he insists that architecture be placed on a legitimate foundation by mathematical proportions; let men compare the examples of different capitals, bases, friezes and cornices, that he gives; the refined distinctions made by him in the design of a Corinthian capital, (p. 98, 99, 100), and a Composite (p. 98), or of a Doric (p. 105, 106, 107, 108); one considers what he says on the varied drawing of the Ionic volute (p. 72, 73), from which he asserts, that no one with the exception of A. Dürer has drawn it entirely correctly according to the rule of Vitruvius; and much else of that kind. In Brief, we see Goujon initiated into the depths and refinements of architecture and its science, and receive the same impression of his thoroughness from his labors in this domain, and one might almost say, a learned acuteness of observation and research, that is peculiar to all great masters of the Renaissance, and impresses on their works the stamp of perfect clearness, harmony and everything.

Likewise sufficient to assign an honorable place among the architects to the excellent master of the sculptures of the

Louvre, of the chateaus Anet and Ecouen, of the fountain of Innocents and so many other works. There belongs here without question a thorough knowledge of architectural forms, to give those monuments a sculptured ornamentation executed in the spirit of architecture.

J. Goujon appears to have died in 1562, at least he disappears with that year from the accounts of the Louvre. He was certainly born before 1510, since he already in 1540 worked in S. Maclou in Rouen, where among other things he made the designs for the columns that support the organ. He was a Huguenot like du Cerceau, J. Cousin, B. de Palissy and other artists of the time, and it was in the midst of the horrors of the religious wars a consoling view, when we see him intimately connected with P. Lescot, the abbot and the canon of Notre Dame, creating his most beautiful works.

#### 64. Palace of the Louvre.

In order to obtain an understanding of the extensive plan of the Louvre, we have to make clear to ourselves the history of this building in a brief way. (See plan, Fig. 85). In the 14<sup>th</sup> century the old castellated building of Philip August consisted of a keep (1), of all four wings (2) flanked by towers, and which Charles V had transformed into one of the most magnificent castles of the time by a splendid stairway and other additions. The nearly square court enclosed by the buildings measured 366 by 361 ft. The structure was surrounded by moats, and with its mighty towers dominated the course of the Seine, and was at the same time a bulwark against the adjacent city on the river above. In his untiring love of building, Francis I just before his death decided on the erection of a new palace, first caused the keep with the southern and western wings to be tory down, the moats to be filled, and as we have seen entrusted to P. Lescot the erection of the new building. He commenced with the west wing, indeed the southern half of the existing one (3) extending parallel to the stream. The latter originally consisted of a single row of rooms, according to the general custom of the time, and where it joined the west wing a pavilion was raised to a considerable height. Since Francis I died soon after the beginning of the work, all these buildings were erected under Henry II. The court of the Louvre was originally planned to be

about the same size as the old one, and in the construction of the new walls the old foundations were evidently utilized. After the death of her husband, Catherine de Medici continued under Francis II and Charles IX the commenced building of the south wing, and caused the addition of new buildings in the opposite direction, in order to form a connection with the palace of the Tuileries (3, 9) begun by her. From the angle pavilion was also laid out a narrow and short connecting building westward, that led to a long gallery (4) extending at a right angle southward to the Seine. This little gallery was 210 ft. long and 30 ft. wide, then having only a ground story and still covered by a terrace in the drawings of du Cerceau. Later was erected in the upper story over it the magnificent "gallery of Apollo". The builder of this lower "little" gallery, that was begun about 1536, must have been P. Chambiges, from a family of architects occurring in several generations. It is stated that Lescot was condemned for inactivity, and the queen capriciously interfered in the building. The written documents in Laborde are not merely silent on this, but they rather prove the contrary. For both Francis II and Charles IX confirmed Lescot as architect of the Louvre, and even when Francis II withdrew the supervision of the royal chateaus from P. de l'Orme, fallen into disfavor, and conferred it on Primaticcio, the erection of the Louvre was expressly excepted as remaining under Lescot's supervision. Thus we should have another architect engaged on the same building at the same time! Since we further know, that Lescot conducted the erection of the Louvre until his death in the year 1578, and since the "little" gallery described is represented in the first volume of du Cerceau, that appeared in 1576, so it must be attributed to no other than Lescot.

From the end of this gallery it then again extended in the western direction parallel to the river, first being a pavilion (5), that in the upper story contained the famous square salon, then adjoined the great gallery (6, 7), which measures to the pavilion Desdiguieres a length of 550 ft., but was finally extended also about 720 ft. These buildings Lescot seems to have commenced, for du Cerceau speaks of "some additions of galleries and terraces, on the side of the pavilion, to go there from the palace that she (Catherine) has caused to be constructed and er-

erected at the place called the Tuileries", an extension that only suits the great and not the little gallery. But since at his death this part could not have advanced very much, and T. Metezeau became his successor in the same year (1573), we must designate him as the probable builder of the first half of this gallery. Its upper story seems to have been erected by his son L. Metezeau, who was appointed as successor to the father at his death in 1556. Yet we must not suppose, that yet another architect, P. Chambiges, seems to have been engaged on these buildings.

Now returning to P. Lescot, it is characteristic for him, that the external facade next the river has a severe simplicity, that only seeks to secure effect by imposing proportions and bold membering. Above the substructure, that rises with a high batter, stand two stories of imposing height, the windows divided by a double crossbars, with antique sections of architraves, flat arches in the ground story, straight lintels in the upper, crowned by gables with rich consoles. The angles are emphasized by bold rustication, the stories are separated in a finely proportioned way by richly ornamented belts, and finally there is added a low upper story, scarcely half as high as both others, whose little windows show an architrave moulding and the flat arch. The termination is formed by a bold cornice with consoles over a frieze with foliage. The pavilion further adds an upper story of the height of the principal story, which receives its light through high round-arched windows. Between them the walls are decorated by trophies in relief, and the antique gables, that rise over them, combining each group of windows into a whole, exhibit similar decorations. The height of the roofs has allowed the artist to treat the chimney caps modestly, only the pavilion being characterized by a great steep roof with a colossal chimney cap, and finally a gilded lead decoration extends as the crowning of the ridge of the roof, for its entire length. The impression of this facade in du Cerceau expresses a superior artistic power, that understands how to wisely consider its means. That the pavilion was regarded as a model, we saw at the city hall of Paris, and will meet other examples of its direct imitation.

But that Lescot knew how to unite all elements of architecture

in a composition is shown by the inner facades of the court (Fig. 86). Since the ground story received valuts, there result mighty piers as abutments, which the architect connected by round arches and decorated by a system of fluted Corinthian pilasters. At the portals he employed doubled half columns to enhance the impression, between which a small niche always breaks the surface of the wall. In the depth of the great arches of the piers lie the high windows with double crossbars and closed by segmental arches. The same system of pilasters and half columns, likewise fluted but with Composite capitals, is repeated on the upper story, yet the window recesses are here omitted, and the richly enclosed windows are alternately crowned by horizontal or circular caps. Only the windows lying over the portals have a free sculptured crowning of crouching greyhounds or of lions. The termination is made by a rich frieze ornamented by garlands and the emblems of Henry II, and a cornice with consoles. To this are also added slabs of marble of different colors, rectangular in the ground story and oval in the upper story, which with noble enclosures by sculpture are inserted between the half columns above the niches. In brief, the entire richness of the early Renaissance is developed, but it is a higher esthetic law to subdue a stronger subdivision by sculpture.

All members here are ornamented with noble magnificence, and thus the architect has poured out a still richer wealth of decoration above the uppermost story like an attic. Justly has he conceived it as a light crown of the whole, and therefore gave it enclosing pilasters and a splendidly ornamented frieze and cornice without consoles, above which as a termination is an airy perforated crown in the most ornamental forms. The windows are flanked by trophies and emblems, but still richer is the ornamentation of the parts lying above the portals. Here are figures in relief in the side panels and victories with arms or emblems above wide festoons in the arched gables, which terminate these parts. This is an architecture of the highest luxury, that here in connection with sculpture has created a work, which seeks its equal as a more perfect and also nobler expression of that splendor-loving time. And since this richness, distributed with a refined artistic feeling, is employed in a well calculated graduation, is dominated by the clear course of

the principal lines and the dignified proportions, it thus has its full justification. If one recalls in these surroundings that splendid world of the court of Henry II, with figures parading in velvet and silk, in feathers and embroidery, then will he understand this architecture.

The internal arrangement of the rooms is the following. The western wing, so far as built by Jescot, consists of the ground story and a hall 120 ft. long by 42 ft. wide. This is now the "hall of caryatids" serving as a hall of antiques. The great tunnel vault of large ashlar covers it and finds a sufficient abutment in the walls 10 ft. thick. From the court the hall receives abundant light through its windows, and between them lies the doorway, that formerly was the main entrance. Another doorway placed in the right end forms the connection with the adjacent stone hall, into which leads a direct entrance from the court. The stairs reach the upper story in a direct course, that changes above the landing. It is steep and toilsome, as all stairs were then. Its rampant tunnel vaults and the ceiling of the landing are covered by magnificent sculptures in excellent execution. But the highest splendor is attained by the sculptured ornamentation in the hall itself. At the end with the entrance from the stair hall J. Goujon placed four gracefully draped caryatids, unfortunately with arms cut off. By means of Doric capitals they support a too richly decorated entablature, over a frieze entirely covered by bent oak leaves and an Ionic cornice. Over this rises a perforated balustrade, on whose piers are formed genii with festoons of fruits.

At the opposite end of the hall adjoins a tribune elevated by 5 steps and corresponding to the stair hall in form, enclosed by four systems of coupled columns, that are connected at the sides by entablature and gable, opening at the centre by a richly ornamented arch like a triumphal arch. The closing wall shows at the middle, corresponding to the longitudinal axis of the hall, a fireplace of a strikingly simple form. From the court an independent entrance leads into this tribune, it ends at the opposite end in a great apse 27 ft. wide. Adjoining this hall are large and small rooms, that lie in the corner pavilion and the south wing there adjacent. Notable is the convenient connection of the rooms and the skilful arrangements of the anterooms

with the aid of different side stairs. Each room has its fireplace, not excluding even the smallest. The distribution in the principal story, which was intended for the royal residence, is the same as before, excepting only that the great hall is furnished with two fireplaces at the ends and has two side chambers instead of the tribune. The connecting doorways between the principal rooms always lie close to the window wall in order to obtain as much closed wall surface as possible. The third story is divided into a number of living rooms and served to receive the lords of the court.

In all Gescot's court facade of the Louvre is and remains the unsurpassed masterpiece of the French Renaissance. Justly du Cerceau says:- "This masonry front is so enriched by columns, friezes, architraves, and every sort of architecture, that symmetry and beauty so excellent, that scarcely in all Europe will be found its second".

#### 65. J. A. du Cerceau.

In the series of important architects of this time also belongs J. A. du Cerceau, although scarcely one building can be proved as executed by him. In fact he seems not to have appeared as a practical architect, for it is an exception of the church at Montargis, furthermore a rather wretched building, is to be referred to him. But as a skilful and industrious engraver he acquired such importance for architecture by his numerous publications, that he merits a prominent place here. For not merely by the measurement and representation of the most famous of the chateaus of France, as his best known and distributed works, but by a great number of his own designs, both in general drawings and details, does he prove himself to be a skilful and intelligent architect. As such was he then early recognized, and J. Vredeman in his *Architecture* that appeared in 1577 at Antwerp names him among the famous architects, and "the widely famed Vitruvius, S. Serlio and the expert J.A. Cerceau."

It appears that du Cerceau was born at Paris about 1510, yet rather earlier than later. Already in the year 1539 he published a map engraved by himself, and this issue was followed in the course of a long and busy life by numerous greater works. Not much is known to us of his life, still we know that he was a Protestant, who firmly adhered to his faith, although his principal work must be dedicated to queen Catharine. The first volume



of his theoretical work on architecture, that appeared in 1559, was dedicated to Henry II, and in the dedication he thanks him for many favors received. His manual of perspective on the contrary was dedicated to the queen. In his old age we find him as a citizen of Montargis and engaged in the publication of his work on the French chateaus. Montargis was then a place of refuge for the Reformed, "the retreat of those of the religion". In the year 1579 he complains that age did not permit him to use as great industry as before, in his last book, the book of antique edifices of the year 1584, that was dedicated to the duke of Nemours, and he regards himself as among those belonging to the ducal court. Since the duke died in 1585 at Annecy near Geneva, where he had resided for several years in peaceful retirement, there is the probability that du Cerceau likewise went there or to Geneva to escape persecution, and that about the same time he died abroad.

Besides a great number of separate plates of various kinds, he published a series of connected works, that belong to the most important publications of the time. Some of them like the Buildings of France and different books containing antique monuments, consist exclusively of drawings of existing monuments. In others he connects therewith his own compositions; finally in a third group he presents only independent designs. To the first kind besides the two volumes of the "Most excellent buildings of France", that appeared in 1576 and 1579, there belong the "Collection of antique fragments after L. Thierry, then recently deceased at Antwerp. Aurelia, 1550". It contains 12 representations of antique buildings and is one of his earliest works. His latest in the year 1584 has a dedication to the duke of Nemours and the title of "Book of antique Roman edifices", with illustrations of that kind on 68 plates.

The second mixed kind with his own and of others belongs to his first work, which appeared in 1549 at Orleans like his other earlier works. On the title page he designates the contents in a dedication as; "Twenty five examples of arches, partly designed by me and partly taken from the monuments of the ancients". On 25 plates engraved with particular refinement he gives at a large scale perspective elevations and plans of the monuments. The work in beauty of representation belongs with his most excellent works. Of antique arches it contains those at Verona,

Benevento, Ancona, Susa, Alessandria, the double gate at Ravenna, finally the arches of Titus, Septimus Severus and of Constantine. These form a basis for him on which he makes 16 arches of his own designing. The wealth of ideas that he develops therein, and the freedom with which he handles the antique forms, are worthy of recognition. On the whole he adheres to a noble mass and classical purity of forms; but in certain cases appears a wonderful fancy in an entirely barocco manner. He does not fail in model examples to which belong several arches of the Corinthian order represented on the first plates. Characteristic is a Doric arch flanked by freely projecting Roman Doric columns. According to the ideas of the time, there were required warlike emblems as characteristics of this style. Therefore on the shafts of the columns are lions' heads, and on the projecting piers of the attic are 4 warriors passing on heavy battle chargers. In an allied sense he employs the Ionic to express luxury; spirally fluted columns, the arches resting on male and female hermes figures with interlaced arms, on the attic being female figures with floating garments, flowers, cornucopias and garlands. Caryatids and atlantes, that are sufficiently picturesque, but very unesthetically embrace each other and support baskets of fruits on their heads instead of capitals, are seen on another arch of the Corinthian order. In naturalism sometimes sport even the principal forms of the architecture, thus on the sixth plate the Corinthian column, whose shaft is covered by palm leaves and opium pods. Great diversity, partly with happy results, he also attains in the greatly varied upper termination and crowning of his arches. On the contrary two examples belong to the most wonderful among the Barocco exuberances of the time. He designates them as arches of the Solomon order. The nature of this somewhat mystic style he seems to recognize in those twisted columns that first appear in the Roman works of the Cosmates of the 13th century, then employed by Raphael in the cartoon for one of his tapestries, and later by Bernini on the altar canopy of S. Peter's was personified in a colossal exaggeration. Besides there appear to belong to the Solomon order the arches on hermes with spirally interlaced legs like serpents, or the entablature rests on crouching satyrs.

In the year 1550 appeared in somewhat smaller form at Orleans,

but likewise with finely executed engravings, a series of 25 plates, that he termed on the dedicatory title as "Examples of antique temples according to the custom of constructors". But he adds thereto "other free examples described in no example" in fact of the erected buildings with certainty are only S. Costanza ( Temple of Bacchus"), the tempietto of S. Pietro in Montorio, the Roman temple of Vesta and the Pantheon, finally also the portico of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina is to be recognized. The other buildings appear to be mostly free caprices after the antique, among which are prominent a number of spirited compositions executed in noble forms. Remarkable for the time is again the zeal with which the dome and the central idea is varied in a great number of examples. likewise the tower building is frequently brought to a splendid solution, sometimes in the more sportive manner of the early Renaissance, but then also in the noblest spirit of classical antiquity.

To this charming book is closely allied another that appeared in 1551, the last published by him at Orleans, designated on the title as "Most charming Optics, which is called Perspective with 20 figures". but it must not be taken to be merely a text-book of perspective; rather are they 20 ideal views of antique buildings engraved with great delicacy on round plates, that certainly in their variety and charm belong to the most beautiful that have ever been created by such explanations in the antique spirit. The artist employed these representations for the purpose of showing on all sides the laws of perspective, that he applied masterfully, but under his hand it becomes a representation of Roman architecture, that permits us to look into the places and markets of the old world with their porticos, basilicas and temples, with the rich views through colonnades and arcades, into the courts of palaces with their arcades, into the most varied forms of public buildings. particularly rich in invention, he knows how to subdivide public squares by flights of steps, and to produce the representation of an animated area, that is extremely favorable for exhibiting the principles of perspective. No less are the different forms of Roman vaults, their manifold connection with richly distributed arrangement of rooms, and their covering by noble forms of Grecian columnar architecture are varied with inexhaustible richness, and

Therein the line of the actual and the possible is nowhere crossed. The observer likes to think himself within these halls and beautiful surroundings, and he becomes in them so light and free in mind as before the best works of the Renaissance and of classical antiquity. This series alone would give the author a claim to a distinguished place among the first architects of the time.

No less fresh and original flows the stream of his invention in the quarto volume that had appeared a year earlier:- "Book of the kind of pictures that Italians call grotesques. Aurelia. 1550". New edition at Paris in 1566 under the title; "Book of grotesques". It is a precious collection of spiritedly designed arabesques on 35 plates, drawn with perfect freedom. Here belongs also a work of the year 1560:- "New book of J. A. du Cerceau, containing many and various matters of all orders, both antique and modern". It may be regarded as a continuation of the works that appeared in 1549 and 1550; it contains on 26 folio plates several sketches and drawings of antique buildings, among them being the triumphal arch of Besancon.

In the collection of temples of the year 1550, the dedication promises the desire of separately treating in a series of successive books the temples, tombs, fountains, fireplaces and finally the chateaus and palaces. The industrious artist has not merely carried out this programme, but has given in a still more extended way his guides for building. This first appeared in a folio volume at Paris in 1559 under the title:- "On architecture, the work of J. A. du Cerceau". This work pursues the purely practical purpose of laying before those desiring to build, a number of plans from the simplest to the richest treatment in ground plans, sections, elevations and perspectives, in order to afford assistance for the most varied desires and needs.

It commences with a dedication to Henry II; the king has found pleasure in his earlier and lighter works, therefore he presents to him here 50 designs for houses, produced "not merely for the benefit of princes and the great, but for the middle and lower classes", so that France being already adorned by splendid buildings, should have less occasion to seek beautiful architecture among foreigners and strangers. His text commences with an explanation of the French "toise" (cubic/fathom of wood), as well as

the principal parts of buildings. It then closes with an explanation of the plans given on a great number of plates. It comprises all stairs from the simple and even plain to the rich and magnificent. The plans exhibit great skill, are practically arranged and developed in many ways, by which everywhere the requirements of his time and his country are taken into account. The treatment of the details and the forms usually bears the stamp of a certain dryness, although it does not lack richer designs; always and justly the principal emphasis is placed on the general subdivision of the masses, as in all sound architecture, on the animated outline, and therein du Cerceau again shows his mastery (Fig. 37).

Besides a great number of normally arranged buildings, there is indeed no lack of abstract combinations of many kinds, in which the architectural fancy of the artists of that time so loved to revel. Thus No. 18; Greek cross, entrance portico in the front arm, on the right the kitchen and accessories, at the left the stable for horses, in the rear the living rooms, at the middle of the building a great circular structure with a circular stair hall, that terraced above and ending in a lantern. No. 27; a hexagon with three winding stairs in the angles of the inner court, on three sides of the polygon being three projecting square pavilions with the living rooms. No. 35; circular plan surrounded by moats, in the interior divided into a Greek cross, cross-shaped court in the middle; four winding stairs in the angles. No. 37; four square stairways at moderate distances are connected by open arcades into a great square with pavilions on the exterior for the living rooms, housekeeping and stables; the stairs covered by terraces and ending in lanterns. It is evident that the old partiality for stairways occasionally appears. No. 42; A Greek cross, square pavilions at ends and in middle connected by arcades, four stairways at the middle. Still more wonderful is No. 44; about a square court with angles cut off and with porticos on piers are arranged the living rooms in one series, at the truncated angles project square pavilions diagonally. A variation of this plan is in No. 48, excepting that here the principal sides are diagonal and the pavilions are placed normal; the court is without arcades. The crown of the wonder is merited by No. 49; the middle forms a decagonal court with arcades, on five sides of the decagon lie great

rectangular pavilions, between the two in front are inserted a square second court with the farm buildings. (see Fig. 83).

To this work was added as a second volume the work appearing at Paris in 1561:— "Book of architecture, containing several different arrangements of fireplaces, dormer windows, gates, fountains, walls, and pavilions." Thus it treats of the internal and external equipment of buildings, and in spite of many elements tending to Barocco, it again shows in a favorable way the rich inventive gift of the artist. Ten different designs for tombs are added. In the dedication to the king he already expresses his intention, approved by the former king, to publish the royal chateaus and other notable buildings of the country. As the third volume of this series appeared at Paris in 1582 as one of his last works, again with a dedication to the king, a new "Book of architecture, which extends the plan of the first volume, and on 33 folio plates collects designs for country houses from the simplest to the magnificent chateau. The introduction has explanations concerning the dimensions, materials, calculation of prices, in order to afford a standard for persons desiring to build, as in the first volume, for making estimates of cost. The gift of invention of du Cerceau again shows itself here with inexhaustible diversity in a charming, though barocco manner. Most of the designs are practical, clear and simple, so that they can be judged at a glance as models for country seats. Particularly pleasing are the smaller buildings in Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 12 and 13, more stately is No. 11 with a fine portal and round corner towers, charming is No. 10 with its garden design, and original in form and decoration is No. 25, but on the contrary No. 2 is abstract and wonderful, with circular arcaded court at the middle, four pavilions in the axes and square enclosing building, the whole surrounded by a moat. Almost as strange is No. 30 with oval court at the middle, around which is grouped the buildings in a rectangle with pavilions and projecting angle towers. Curved facades are shown by Nos. 6 and 13, and obelisk roofs frequently occur with other Barocco forms, especially in Nos. 27 and 37.

Besides a theoretical work, "Lessons in positive perspective," which in 1576 appeared in Paris in 60 plates small folio, still the great work in two volumes of the "Most excellent buildings

of France" is to be considered, which represents by numerous illustrations thirty of the most important chateaus of France. Already the fact, that most of these structures have yielded to the storms of the time, lends a high value to this work. Indeed the drawings do not lack haste and errors, and the representations generally suffer by a certain dryness, but besides the amiable industry and the faithful perseverance that du Cerceau has shown here as in all his works, there is enjoyable the artistic freshness and the clear animation of the representation.

J. A. du Cerceau had two sons, both of whom practically exercised the calling of architect; &, Baptiste, born about 1555, is already mentioned as dead in 1602. He was architect of Henry III and of Henry IV, was called to the building of the Louvre in 1578, and in the same year was entrusted with rebuilding the bridge Pont Neuf. At the erection of the chapel of the Valois in the church at S. Denis he appeared as the successor of Bullant. Like his father, he was a Protestant, and so faithfully adhered to his convictions, that being required to conversion by the demand of the fanatics, he preferred to resign his position and even to abandon the beautiful house, that he had built about 1584 in Paris. His brother Jacques is found mentioned after 1578 and died in 1614. He was architect of Henry IV and of Louis XIII. He probably erected the second half of the great gallery of the Louvre. Finally is to be mentioned the son of Baptiste, Jean, who in 1617 was appointed architect of Louis XIII. He was named for the last time in the year 1649.

### 66. Philibert de l'Orme.

Among the masters prominent by their executed works is first of all to be mentioned P. de l'Orme besides Lescot, no less important than the latter, even if already of essentially different abilities. If the latter devoted himself entirely to artistic creations, then in the former the imagination was occupied by a stronger addition of reflection, which impelled him to embrace the calling of theorist with zeal, besides the creations of the practical architect. He may be called the French L. B. Alberti, even if he does not equal the famous Florentine in depth and breadth of knowledge. He belongs to those thoughtful and reasoning artists, who always contrive new inventions, and architecture owes to him important innovations in the field of

construction. Then he obtained great influence by his literary labors, since he belongs to the first, who undertook in France systematically to state the theory of architecture.

De l'Orme seems to have been born about 1515 and perhaps belongs to a family of architects, a member of which we have already met at the building of Gaillon. This would explain how at an unusually youthful age he had already succeeded in the art and the practice, for as he himself states to us, that in his 15 th year he already had 300 workmen under his command. A short time afterward and still very young, he betook himself to Rome, where in a considerable expenditure of labor and money, he measured and drew the antique monuments. When on a day he was engaged with his men in this work, the cardinal of S. Croce, then a simple bishop and later Pope Marcellus II, came by with other cardinals and eminent nobles, spoke to him, invited him to visit him repeatedly, and took him onto his service. This must have been about the beginning of the year 1535, when de l'Orme was scarcely 20 years of age. That he already found himself in Rome in 1533, he himself says in his principal work. Yet his influential countrymen, G. du Bellay and his brother J, the cardinal, soon succeeded in inducing the very promising young artist to return to his native land; in 1536 we find him in his native city of Lyons and engaged in the erection of different buildings, and about 1542 he began the portal of S. Nizier, when cardinal du Bellay took him to Paris and entrusted to him the erection of his chateau.

But he did not continue with these artistic undertakings. In the year 1546 we learn to recognize de l'Orme as engineer and architect of fortifications, in which capacity he was ordered to inspect twice annually the entire coast of Brittany with its fortresses. He had to superintend the shipbuilding in Havre de Grace, to visit the vessels existing in the harbors of Normandy, to supply the camp of Boulogne with provisions, to place the fortresses in condition, and he had to protect the city of Brest from a threatened attack by the English. Thus like da Vinci and other great Italian artists, he was well skilled in the science of war and of fortification of his time. He already occupied this position under Francis I, and thus at the beginning of the reign of Henry II by a decree of April 3, 1543, he was



appointed overseer of the royal buildings of Montainebleau, S. Germain, Villers Coterets and others. After this time he continued in favor with Henry II and Diana of Poitiers, for whom he erected important buildings. Also he did not fail in rewards and evidences of favor. Already in 1548 he was appointed councillor and almoner of the king, obtained several abbeys, particularly that of Ivey, like P. Lescot he became a canon of Notre Dame. How early his fame must have spread is seen by an honorable mention in Rabelais, where the siege machines of the ancients are mentioned, and de l'Orme is invoked as an authority.

The goodwill of Henry II and even more that of Diana of Poitiers changed into opposition, at once after the death of the king, when Catherine finally came into full authority. Cabals and slanders caused that already on the third day after the death of his father, Francis II deposed de l'Orme from his position, and appointed Primaticcio overseer of the royal buildings. How he played tricks on the excellent artist, we learn from a memoir by his hand, whose publication we owe to Berty. It is a precious document, that gives us a glance into the history of his life and creations. He defends himself against unjust accusations and slanders, that he had enriched himself in the royal service, while in truth scarcely his expenses had been repaid to him. For in his many journeys in the royal service he had always kept 10 or 12 horses, and must hire at his own cost a great number of laborers and subordinate officials. He had further allowed five nephews to study, had also retained and paid learned men, in order to carry on scientific labors with them. Costly models that frequently cost 260 or 300 thalers (400 to 600 livres), he caused to be made for the king's buildings, and for all this he had received <sup>not</sup> 20,000 livres, as stated against him, but only 6,000 livres annual salary," as well as his gray beard". In just pride he enumerated on the other hand his undertakings; not merely the important services performed in the supervision of the harbors and the fortification of the country, but also the numerous royal buildings, that were superintended by him. "He had introduced the good architecture into France" and had rejected the barbarous forms. Important inventions for the advantage of the king and the country had been made by him in the construction of roofs, whereby it had

became possible to cover buildings with shorter timbers and at much less cost.

His justification must finally have prevailed, for in 1564 he received from Catherine de Medici the commission to build a new palace, the Tuileries, that would have been his principal work, if his plans had come to completion. He was engaged on this until his death, that occurred on Jan. 3, 1570 (1571 as recently discovered). From his earlier period (after 1552) dates the chateau of Anet, the splendid residence of Diana of Poitiers, in great part destroyed in the Revolution. Yet earlier occurs his first important building, the chateau S. Maur, which also no longer exists. We add to this the portal of S. Nizier at Lyons, the chapel in the park of Villers Coterets, where for the first time he employed the colonnade named by him the "French order", and further the buildings at S. Germain, La Muette, Monceaux, Madrid, S. Leger, where he built a great gallery, the chapel and the pavilions of Limonis, Vincennes, Coucy and Folembay, with finally his participation in the tomb of Francis I at S. Denis, and the sketch for the refectory of the abbey of Montmartre, as well as private buildings in Lyons and Paris, thus we have a view of an extremely extensive activity. Finally to belong his writings, that merit a separate consideration.

### 37. De l'Orme's writings.

De l'Orme's inclination toward theoretical considerations, to the scientific basis of his art, also led him to lifelong activity, and the first literary work that we possess by him, relates to his invention of a novel construction of roofs, that he first employed in the chateau of Monceaux in roofing a hall for playing ball for Catherine de Medici. The queen and her husband took an animated interest in this work, and the latter induced the artist to give his invention to the world in a book. This work however appeared after the death of Henry II under the title:- "New inventions for building well and at small cost, made by P. de l'Orme, native of Lyons. Paris. 1561".

More important as evidence of his general artistic views is however the second and greater book, that he already hints at in the text of the former. It was to contain in two folio volumes a complete theory of architecture, according to the examples of Vitruvius and of L. B. Alberti. The first volume, for the p

preparation of which de l'Orme utilized the compulsory leisure, while he had fallen into disfavor at the court, appeared in 1567 in Paris under the title:- "First book of architecture by P. de l'Orme, councillor and ordinary almoner of the king". He begins with the dedication to the queen mother and a letter to the reader, in which he complains that there are so few skilful architects, since most are only onesided theorists, or possess an exclusively practical training. meanwhile he glorifies in an inspired manner the dignity and nobility of architecture, he derives its correct dimensions and proportions directly from God, the experienced architect of the world, and modestly makes known that the works created by himself, and by which he found a general recognition, satisfied him so little, that he desired to rebuild them anew, better and more beautiful.

Interesting is what he then tells us of the condition of his time in the preface of the first book, how master masons or master carpenters, or indeed "even a painter or a notary" set up for themselves as architects and by babble and flattery know how to fool the owners. How strongly he is opposed to the pretensions of the painters in particular, the numerous "makers of portraits and drawings, most of whom do not know how to draw well or to describe anything", and he shows later in the 10 th Chapter of his book, that one will be the less blamed for those sharp words against dilattanteism, when it is considered, that for years the intriguing Primaticcio could supplant him. The charming superficiality of architectural cheats must be doubly offensive to a man, who in a just self-respect says of himself, that he has busied himself for 35 years and more in the study of architecture, and whose work on all sides furnishes proof of his thorough scientific training, his comprehensive artistic studies and of his great practical experience. He everywhere insists on the combination of theory with practice, desires to know nothing of those who deceive owners by designs already executed, who know nothing and emphatically recommend making for important buildings not merely one but several models, in order to make their effect clear to themselves. That he is himself an excellent draftsman appears from the woodcuts of his book at a very large scale, which he drew with his own hand, according to his statement. That he drew them and accurately measured the

most beautiful antique remains in Rome, affords new evidence of the thorough and laborious studies, that the great masters of the Renaissance made without exception, and by which they shame the indolence of the present generation of architects. De l'Orme's representations of the antique columnar orders belong to the best that we possess from the time for such works. With what attention he examined the monuments is proved among other things by the discovery made by him on the beginning of antique Ionic capitals of the church S. maria in Trastevere, where he found the point for placing the compasses for describing the volute curve.

His work is divided into nine books. In the first he speaks of the materials, testing and choice of the site of the building and its orientation. The second treats of foundations and the tools that the architect employs; the third and fourth are occupied with stonecutting in a thorough way; the next three treat of the four orders of columns, to which he adds a fifth of his own invention, the eighth gives information concerning the proportions and forms of triumphal arches and portals, as well as of windows; finally the ninth is on the arrangement and ornamentation of fireplaces in rooms and salons, and also of chimney caps on roofs. The most important part comprises two books on stonecutting. The middle ages treated this science in its lodges as a secret, and the new architecture must construct and found the science of stereotomy on a new basis. It is the greatest merit of de l'Orme, that he solved this problem for the architecture of his country and for his time in a manner both scientific and clearly intelligible, thereby giving architecture a common and firm foundation. The position that he takes in this work in opposition to the old national art merits being noted. He says that he will not disdain those vaults "in the French manner", since many good and difficult constructions were executed with them; but those acquainted with the true architecture no longer follow that method of construction. Yet in his works he sufficiently proves, that he thoroughly understood Gothic construction, for he gives complete general schemes for the execution of Gothic ribbed vaults of the most complex kind, wherein he does not forget even the pendent keystones. But he prefers vaults made semicircular in the antique fashion as

stronger, better and more durable, and explains their advantages, which he finds not nearly in statically structural lightness, but also in the richer and more tasteful decoration of which they are capable. In the same sense he expresses himself against the depressed and the oval arch. But there is still enough of the spirit of the mediaeval masters in him to find enjoyment in the most complex constructions, which he shows especially in the problems of different winding stairways, and particularly in the difficult shell or trumpet vaults for supporting the projecting structural parts of the upper story.

What concerns the artistic character of de l'Orme is, that he lacks the nobility and refinement of Lescot. His world of form, as it appears in the given examples of portals and fire-places as well as in his executed works, is not merely dryer, but also already often approaches to Barocco forms, to breaks of all sorts and endings of the members. Even wonderful appears a column in the form of a rough trunk of a tree with a capital of curly foliage, that for certain cases is recommended by him, where he treats it like a wooden post. On the contrary a different kind of column is more recommended, that he first designed for the chapel of Villers Coterets and employed later at the Tuileries and elsewhere, and which has been imitated by many French architects (Fig. 39). If the Greeks and Romans were permitted to invent the columnar orders, he argued, why then should it not be allowable to invent new forms of columns, and to call them "French"? At least he allowed this to himself, and since he was unable to obtain monolithic columns at Villers Coterets, he hit on the idea of concealing the joints of the separate drums by projecting bands with ornaments, so that they would appear very beautiful and attractive. It is certain that this so favorite form in the late French Renaissance is one of the most rational and acceptable inventions of the beginning Barocco style, and it must entirely satisfy those, that everywhere desire the ornamentation to appear only as a symbol for the construction. But it is likewise certain, that when the Greeks joined together the separate drums so closely, that the columns appear as monoliths, and the continuity is emphasized by the gleaming flutes as strongly as possible, they showed a more elevated and refined art feeling.

As a more cheerful conclusion of his work, de l'Orme gives a the pictures of the true and false architects in two large drawings. The first is seen in a landscape full of magnificent buildings, through which ripples a stream, that abundantly waters the trees clasped by grape vines. In dignified quiet he instructs a youth desirous of learning. To indicate his skill, he furnished the artist with three eyes and four hands, and further with winged shoes on his feet. On the contrary the false architect wanders through an uncultivated landscape, in which are seen only misshapen structures. He is without eyes, ears and a nose, but is represented with a great mouth "to babble and lie"; with a long gown and the cap of a learned man "to counterfeit a great doctor and to keep up a good appearance, so that men will think something great of him". Besides he has no hands "to show that those represented know not how to do anything. In his path lie ox skulls "that signify a gross and heavy mind", and stones on which he stumbles, while deformed bushes retain his waving cloak.

### 38. Chateau of Anet.

Among the buildings executed by de l'Orme chateau Anet must be termed his principal work. Erected at the order of Henry II for Diana of Poitiers, it was a creation built at one gush in entire freedom and without limitation of means, as de l'Orme states, and therefore is the best touchstone for the artistic spirit of its builder. Partly destroyed in the Revolution, partly deprived of its artistic ornamentation, it is recognizable by us in its original form only from the drawings of du Cerceau. Anet lies in the vicinity of Dreux in a plain, through which flows the river Eure. In the middle ages it was a royal domain, that Charles VII granted to P. de Breze. His grandson married as his second wife in 1514 Diana of Poitiers, who later obtained such great influence over Henry II, 20 years younger. The king caused the old castle to be mostly tory down, and a new and magnificent chateau to be erected by de l'Orme, wherein however as appears from his writings and is shown by the plans, certain parts of the old building must be retained.

That he executed them with great skill and without breaking the clearness and symmetry of the new building is proved by the plan (Fig. 90). The extensive plan is surrounded by a moat and

by walls with projecting bastions at the corners. Over a draw-bridge one passed to the principal entrance, treated as a separate gate structure, imposing and almost like a fortification. With a curved projecting wall there appears between four widely spaced Doric columns, two smaller side portals and a great middle portal, the latter crowned by a wide arched niche in which was placed B. Cellini's famous bronze figure of the nymph of Montainebleau. On the other hand at both sides the Doric columns are connected by entablature and cornice with a closed parapet.

At the same height terminate the adjacent parts treated like a fortification, that however end in a perforated balustrade. The forms of the latter are composed of twisted ropes, and are characteristic for the character of this epoch; the motive appears insipid and therefore also capricious. Indeed ugly are the great chimneys rising at the angles with their heavy caps in the form of curved sarcophaguses, whose surfaces are covered by monotonous flutes and heavy foliage between very dry mouldings. Likewise their crowning by scrolled broken gables in the form of volutes is sufficiently Barocco. The sarcophagus, that appears on all chimneys of the chateau and even on the splendid fountain, is indeed an esthetic expression of the sorrow of the widow, with which this chaste *piana coquet*-ted for her entire life.

In the upper story the middle building of the chateau takes the form of a flat terrace rounded at both sides, from which rises a middle portion like an attic. This is covered by fluted elongated volutes instead of pilasters, shows in the middle panel the dial of a clock, niches in the side panels, and bears on its crowning volutes the figures of two hounds, who gaze at a stag standing in the middle. As de l'Orme states, the hounds announced the hour by bells, the stag by pawing with his feet. However heavy and tasteless and also even Barocco in the details, the members here throughout, it was the duty of the architect to give the expression of isolation to the chateau by original and effective composition, as proper for such an outer gate, as he has happily done. Besides while he rejected for this external facade the more refined decoration by sculpture, he has given to these surfaces by suitably arranged slabs of porphyry,

Serpentine and marble, as well as bronze over the portals, on the friezes, attics and plinths of the upper structure, to his work and character of genuine magnificence by the use of an effective polychromy.

The interior of the gate building is formed as a stately three aisled entrance hall, with a high middle passage opening in arches and low side aisles, separated from the middle aisle by arches on piers. In the side rooms were at one side the dwelling of the porter, at the other a place for servants. The arrangement and distribution as well as the internal architecture of this gateway shows the assured hand of a master.

Passing further in the principal axis, one now reaches the great and nearly square court of honor, that was enclosed on three sides by the residences. At the right and at the side opposite the entrance extended an arcade ed passage in the ground story, resting on coupled piers with a horizontal entablature. The main stairway lay at the right in the angle of the joining of the two wings; another stairway was connected with the entrance at the middle. The architecture of this portion was simple and with good effect. The upper story received its light by alternately wider and narrower windows, all divided by two cross-bars, the former having also a vertical middle mullion and an antique gable. The sparingly used dormer windows are crowned by arched caps, that rest on broken entablatures in Barocco style.

With true artistic feeling the architect knew how to give his building a middle part dominating the whole. Opposite the principal entrance in the axis of the building he placed a portal like a triumphal arch, that in its two lower stories corresponded to the two stories of the court, but then a third story extended high above the roof. This is the portion now erected at Paris in the School of Fine Arts (Fig. 91,. Faced below with Doric, then with Ionic, and above with coupled Corinthian columns, that bear a corresponding broken entablature, it receives a rich ornamentation by niches with statues and by reliefs. The great principal niche of the upper story contained a statue of the deceased husband of Diana, Louis de Breze, instead of the Cupid in our representation shown as stringing his bow, with the inscription characterizing this faithful widow:-

"Breze stands here by the favor of the married Diana,



And long to his powers are monuments erected".

On the middle attic that crowns the whole was seen a great shield of arms supported by advancing lions. The refined development of the architectural forms, the elegant capitals, the noble divisions of the cornice, the delicate laurel branches, that surround the lower portion of the shafts of the Corinthian columns, give evidence that de l'Orme knew how to develop at the proper place a more refined classical architecture. We must not forget, that then prevailed among the masters of the Renaissance leading the fashion a certain dryness of forms, particularly rustication and the insipid Roman Doric style as a characteristic expression of rural architecture, just as G. Romano has so miserably characterized the palace del Te externally in this sense. Furthermore whether we can allow de l'Orme to pass for the designer of this splendidly effective triumphal arch must remain uncertain. We shall see that J. Bullant had perhaps already employed this composition a few years earlier on chateau Ecouen.

Two still larger courts extended at left and right of the main residence; that on the left was arranged as a regular rectangle with a magnificent Barocco fountain at the middle, on which rose J. Goujon's bronze group of Diana with a stag and two dogs; that on the right with a smaller fountain, was irregular and was bordered by the remains of the older building. Into the latter led from the side a separate and likewise stately portal, yet treated more like that of a castle, from whose embrasures de l'Orme caused cannon to project.

From the adjacent wing of the noble residence projected a chapel in the form of a Greek cross with rounded ends, the central part crowned by a circular dome and lantern, the angles filled internally by two towers with plain pyramidal roofs, that contained the stairs to the gallery, and next them were two rooms intended for sacristies. The handsome portico with coupled columns extends before the entire front of the building. The interior exhibits a noble and rich treatment in classically developed forms, Corinthian pilasters with original capitals with sedge leaves, between them being wall niches, the arches and tunnel vault elegantly stuccoed with ornamental bands that enclose panels for paintings, in the spandrels being soaring angels

that imitate antique Victories, the dome with coffers of lozenge shape. The sculptures are from the hand of J. Goujon, and like the chapel itself belong to the still tolerably well preserved parts of the building. Besides there now exist only the main portal of the left wing adjoining it.

At the rear of the plan of the chateau adjoins for its entire breadth an enormous garden lawn 400 ft. wide and about 250 ft. deep, surrounded on three sides by arcades in a dry rustication, "which gives", as du Cerceau says, "a marvellous splendor to the view of the garden". The connection with the noble residence is made by a wide terrace between projecting pavilions, from which one sees the garden and both great parks with their alleys and mowed lawns. Two fountains were placed in the middle of the garden on the axis of the two pavilions. In the garden arcades and the terraces the pavements were covered by glazed tiles with rich patterns. A fragment of them was brought to light in the forties (1840). It is seen that the entire design exhibits princely wealth, and was treated entirely in the sense of the modern time. As an echo of feudal castles are to be mentioned only the moats and the fortified walls, as well as the little turrets like bays corbelled out on the front ends of the two wings of the chateau. Likewise belongs here the round bay corbelled on a shell vault and belonging to the cabinet of the king, whose construction de l'Orme treats with special care in the fourth book of his architecture.

With the most interesting parts of the chateau we finally reckon the tomb chapel, which Diana caused to be erected at the left of the chateau, and a drawing of which is given by du Cerceau. It was a small building consisting of an elongated rectangle with a projecting semicircular apse, with a single aisle covered by a tunnel vault, with severe and plain forms. A parapet separated the front aisle from the choir, that showed two rows of choir stalls at each side. Beside the choir projected two transepts, making the building cross-shaped externally, these containing galleries in the upper story with their stairs. These little side rooms were internally circular, enlarged by four niches and covered by small domes. The facade of the chapel exhibits severely classical forms, Corinthian pilasters, between which were niches with statues, in the middle being a portal

with attic and a round window over it. Then over the entablature with swelled frieze and cornice with consoles was a high attic with Doric pilasters, the middle building crowned by the addition of a sarcophagus, before which angels with palms kept guard, and above which rose a figure with the inevitable arms.

Before we leave the masterwork of de l'Orme, we still have to consider the magnificent treatment of the chateau. That was designed and executed by the same artistic spirit, and extended over all parts of the building, giving it the character of incomparable harmony, which we recognize from the enthusiastic descriptions of contemporaries. Of the splendid ceilings, the carved woodwork and the painted wall tapestries, only paltry vestiges remain. Just as little exists of the glazed tile floors, for which the most distinguished artists were employed. Of the sculptures of J. Goujon at least are shown those of the chapel, as well as the fountain group in the museum of the Louvre. For the numerous doors and for the wainscots of the walls had been used the most costly and rarest kinds of woods. What remains of these partly bear the character of the bold relief treatment in the dryer members and rich emblematic panels, loved in this epoch, and they also partly show a moderate relief and more picturesque treatment by inlays with the use of woods of various colors. The artistic perfection of the whole extends with ever constant care to even the least details.

When we have developed our conceptions of beauty on the charm of Grecian forms, it is not easy for us to judge properly the creations of this time. Quickly are we repelled by the heavy and in part Barocco mode of expression, and we are inclined to turn away from these works as offended. But thereby comes to us a strong impulse toward the genius of that great masters, who thought so earnestly and highly of their art, and created such noble things in it. De l'Orme expresses himself in numerous places with sufficient clearness on the essential in architecture. In one principal passage he says:—"I have always been of the opinion that it is better for the architect not to know how to make ornaments, enrichments of walls or elsewhere, and to understand well what is necessary for the health and preservation of men persons and of their goods. Today the practice is entirely the contrary. I do not say that it may not be proper and very well to make very beautiful ornaments and enriched facades for

kings, princes and lords, where they desire this. For that gives great satisfaction and pleasure to the eye; chiefly when such facades are made in symmetry and true proportion, and the ornaments are placed on such places as may be necessary and reasonable. For this I advise the architect and all that make profession to build, that they study rather to know the nature of the place, than to make so many beautiful ornaments, that most frequently merely serve as snares for taking men, or what is in their purses. So I would not that the said ornaments should prevent, that one could give the true means required for a hall or chamber, and also that one cannot place the doors, windows and fireplaces in the most convenient and necessary places, without doing anything by compulsion, otherwise than by the means of art and of nature".

These good principles the master has decided: employed on his buildings, and whoever knows how to appreciate suitable plan and distribution, well considered contrast of the masses, effective movement of the general outlines, noble proportions and rhythmic division, will everywhere recognize the great architect. But for him from whom any unhellenic profiled "egg moulding" conceals all these advantages, there is generally no help.

#### 69. The Tuileries.

The grandest problem of his life was partly for de l'Orme, when Catherine de Medici entrusted to him the building of a new palace at Paris. In this problem the master plainly sought to bring his entire abilities and knowledge into use, but his vast plan that du Cerceau gives, and that would have personified about the highest ideal of the palace architecture of the time, remained not merely unexecuted, but even what he was allowed to execute was later made almost unrecognizable. We are left to the unfortunately insufficient drawings of du Cerceau, if we desire to form for ourselves an image of the purposes of the architect.

About 1564 the queen decided to cause a new palace to be built for herself in the vicinity of the Louvre at the west of the gates and walls of the city, and which received the name of the Tuileries from the tile works which then lay there. She entrusted the erection of the building to B. de l'Orme, who carried on the work until his death, and was then succeeded by J. Bullant

after 1570. But already in 1572 the queen gave up the plan, since an astrologer had informed her to beware of S. Germain, if she did not wish to be struck dead by a building. Since then the Tuileries belonged to the parish of S. Germain l'Auxerrois, the superstitious queen dropped the undertaking. What had been executed by de l'Orme is indicated by (8) on our little plan. (Fig. 35). This is the present middle pavilion with the adjoining wings. On the contrary the corner pavilions (9) must indeed be attributed to J. Bullant.

Let us now compare with this poor and badly corrected fragment the imposing plan, on which de l'Orme based his building (Fig. 92). According to it the palace should form a rectangle of 816 by 504 ft. The principal entrance lay at D on the city side, about where the triumphal arch now stands. From the great vestibule in three aisles one passed through a smaller inner one into the principal court A, enclosed by arcades on both sides. Four smaller courts with two amphitheatres between them, indeed intended for plays and festivals, separated the two middle transverse wings from the two external galleries, where C is the present Rue de Rivoli and B lies next the river. From the garden side the entrance E led into the now walled up arcades H and thence into the no longer existing magnificent principal stairway, that rose in two flights in a circle. The living apartments were distributed in the two long principal wings of the western garden side of the eastern city side, between which the four transverse wings formed a connection by galleries and arcades. Great pavilions at the corners, to which were added three others on the longer sides at well arranged distances and one at each smaller side, were to give the building not merely an effective alternation of the masses, but would give in the interior the desirable increase of space inside.

When Viollet-le-Duc rejects the plan as impractical, because the internal distribution differs from that previously adopted in France, he appears to us in error. One should not forget, that here for the first time is concerned a palace in which royalty itself officially, as it were, desires to reside with its entire household and be represented, while the chateaus of Francis I bear a private character, and are intended more for the personal inclinations and the intimate surroundings of the prince.

The plan of the Tuileries presents in two groups a number of 1 larger and smaller apartments abundantly sufficing for a large and splendid court, to which is added the beautifully arranged festal hall F. The rooms are further connected by sufficient anterooms and stairs, and with the unusually rational spirit of de l'Orme and the thorough interest, ~~with~~ which the queen had in artistic undertakings, it may be assumed that the programme was well studied. This is expressly stated to us by de l'Orme himself:- "Thus one sees today to be done at the palace of her majesty the queen mother at Paris, who has desired to take the trouble with a singular pleasure, of ordering the distribution of her said palace, for the lodgings and the location of the halls, anterooms, chambers, cabinets and galleries, and to give me the dimensions of the lengths and widths". If we no longer entirely explain his plan, the blame for this is due to the insufficient traditions.

The same passage of his book gives an account of the architectural forms of the building. Evidently the queen required the utmost possible magnificence of execution and the architect shows that he was able to satisfy this demand (Fig. 93). He commenced with the garden facade. The middle pavilion was intended for the entrance and was connected with the two side pavilions of twice the width by open arcades, 13 arches at each side. On the plan given by du Cerceau they consist of arched porticos on piers with projecting columns. But the elevation of the facade given by du Cerceau exhibits a variation, necessary for a more animated and more rhythmic subdivision. Namely there alternate a pair of columns with a pair of pilasters, and since the entablature with the cornice projects also above the columns, there results already from <sup>in</sup> this well weighed effect of alternation. The arcades terminate <sup>in</sup> a flat terrace in the upper story, that was enclosed by a bold open balustrade. perhaps in view of the rural location and surroundings, the upper story is treated as a roof story in the form of a high attic. Here the architect has employed the same principle of rhythmic alternation is on the ground story. Over the arches of the latter is placed a window with curved cap, and then follows a lower wall panel with an angular cap, on which rest statues, and at the middle appears a shield of arms. The pavilions received a second story,

columns in the ground story and pilasters in the upper one, yet du Cerceau gives only the middle pavilion, and every of that only the ground story.

To the noble and grand proportions, the finely conceived rhythmic movement of the masses, the animated accenting, de l'Orme adds in the details a refinement in treatment, by which he shows himself a master of elegant decoration. In the pilaster and columnar orders of the ground story he employs the Ionic style, but in that transformation that he invented as the "French order" and first employed at the chapel of Villers Cotterets. He composes the shafts of his columns of separate blocks, connecting the fluted drums by high bands of marble. On the latter he places symbolic ornaments, laurel leaves and clubs as emblems of strength interlaced with knotted cords, indications of the condition of the widow. These ornaments are tastefully designed and wrought in delicate relief in the fine material, forming a well arranged contrast to the deeply cut flutes of the drums of the columns. Similar richness of decoration is even entanced by figure sculptures and prevails on the upper story. Below the emblems are noted the frequently occurring initials of Henry and of his queen.

The court facade is likewise given by du Cerceau and exhibits a similar arrangement and treatment, that is only simplified in the ground story by omitting the arcades, and pilasters are exclusively employed. An original arrangement is noted on the first pair of windows at both sides of the middle building. Here in the upper story the two windows are exceptionally brought close together by a common crowning gable on which rest statues; an arrangement that in connection with the middle pavilion must have a splendid effect. The later tactless transformations have left scarcely a shadow of the noble architecture of de l'Orme.. Had the palace been completed according to his plans, no other royal chateau could compete with it in grandeur and beauty.

The pavilions added to it by J. Bullant at both wings of de l'Orme's building follow the middle building in plan, division and treatment. still they likewise are affected so badly by later changes, that a judgement of the worth of the works of Bullant is no longer possible. Only so much is recognized, that as an intelligent architect he strove for a harmonious general effect,

and was far removed from the rudeness of those, who later by the erection of the colossal order at the corners on the river side so perceptibly injured the original architecture of both the Tuileries and the Louvre gallery.

#### 70. Chateau of S. Maur.

When we close the series of the works of de l'Orme with S. M. Maur, we must remember that we have to do with a creation of his youthful years. Shortly before the death of Francis I he began for his patron, cardinal du Bellay, the erection of a chateau, that afterwards came into the hands of Catherine de Medici, and under her direction was considerably enlarged. Nothing more of the building exists today. .

S. Maur lies some miles from Paris near Vincennes on the Marne. The chateau (Fig. 94) formed nearly a square, flanked by great pavilions at the corners, that were connected at three sides by arcade porticos on piers in the ground story as well as in both stories. This connection was omitted at the entrance side, and instead of the arcades was arranged a middle pavilion, that contained the imposing gateway portico. Next the court this opened by an arcade that ended in a stairway at each side. Lower porticos on piers with horizontal entablature extended around the other three sides of the court and supported a terrace at the next story, which served to connect the rooms. In the middle of each of the three wings was placed a main stairway with straight flight. Each of the four masses of the building thereby formed was composed of great halls and several spacious chambers with the necessary side rooms in a truly distinguished manner. Next the front side lay an extensive outer court, enclosed on four sides by servants' dwellings. At the left side the principal building extended beside the river a fruit garden; but at the rear adjoined a vast garden consisting of 24 differently ornamented beds. As we learn from du Cerceau, the cardinal had only completed one wing of the building; but the queen ordered the building to be continued and to be enlarged, and de l'Orme had made a model of the whole. At first the court facades showed only one story, animated by coupled Corinthian pilasters with columns of the same order in the angles; above them a plain attic with the crowning cornice. The queen later caused a second story to be added.



This architecture bore the stamp of a severely classical simplicity, and thus the exterior assumed the character of severity, and even of dryness. All angles and enclosures of windows, as well as the arcade arches were executed in rustication, and even the Corinthian columns by which the corners in the lower story were rather oddly treated, must adopt this treatment. Even the chimney caps were made with rustication. We already recall in regard to this, that then the architects believed that the rural character was expressed by this style of architecture. Richer forms, though in a sportive Barocco manner, occurred on the dormer windows of the roof. But the principal piece was the wide and high antique temple pediment with figure ornament, but at the same time opened by two arched windows, that spanned the entire arcade of the middle building, an innovation that must be credited to the still fresh inspiration obtained in Italy from antique appearances. Du Cerceau says:—"For which is placed a frontispiece, that is indeed an order of antique manner, and striking to us, who have never made so great a one in France." We find it today indeed unsuitable and ugly, so much the more, since it forms a contradiction to the steep roofs of the pavilions. --- De l'Orme had treated each corner with two separate roofs like twin pavilions.

However the artist is not less important in this youthful work, yet the creations of his riper years have shown him to us in full mastery.

#### 71. J. Bullant.

An appearance in many ways recalling that of de l'Orme is that of J. Bullant, and <sup>31</sup>whose life we indeed only have slight knowledge. His birthplace seems to have been Ecouen, that he was destined to adorn by the principal work of his artistic activity. Likewise for him must we assume that his birth fell at about 1515. Like de l'Orme he was in his youth in Italy, to study there the works of the old and new masters. In his book on architecture he states for himself, that he made after the antique the drawings given therein. Among them is found a splendid Corinthian capital of the so-called temple of Jupiter Stator (temple of the Dioscures in the forum), that he accurately imitated in the great portico of the count at Ecouen. A proof that the erection of the chateau occurred after his Italian journey.

It may be conjectured that his patron, the constable de Montmorency, to whom belonged Ecouen, early noticed his talent and sent him to Italy. It is certain that while the constable lived in Ecouen during the time of his disfavor from 1541 to 1547, he came to the decision to rebuild the old castle and cause a new chateau to be erected by Bullant. That this great undertaking established the fame of the architect, and since with the accession of Henry II, Montmorency again attained power, and soon to the favor of the king, who by a decree of Oct. 25, 1557, appointed Bullant inspector general of all buildings of the crown. Immediately after the death of Henry II, like de l'Orme he fell into disfavor, and must give place to a creature of Catherine by the name of F. Gannat. From 1559 to 1570 he remained without further commission, as it appears and as he says himself, the constable employed him in the erection of his chateau, since he would otherwise have been mostly without employment. He took up his residence in quiet Ecouen and busied himself with theoretical investigations and literary works, like de l'Orme.

The first work that is due to this leisure appeared under the title:- "Collection of horology, containing the description, making and use of sundials. Paris. 1561. He calls himself in it this the architect of the constable de Montmorency, to whose name he dedicated it and the succeeding volume. In the next year of 1562 appeared his "Little Treatise on geometry", with which the earlier work was bound as a whole. Furnished with numerous woodcuts, these writings give proof of scientific studies and an earnest inclination to theory, which characterized him like de l'Orme. But his principal work in this domain is that published in 1564, dedicated to the son of the constable, revised in 1568 and frequently again later; "General rules of architecture, of the five styles of columns, i.e., Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite, after the example of antiquity and according to the rules and theory of Vitruvius".

These works are indeed neither so comprehensive nor of independent importance like those of de l'Orme, to whom he was also inferior in general scientific training. But the modesty with which Bullant expresses himself everywhere shows, that he was far removed from any vanity. Generally his position was a more modest one, and he never was like de l'Orme, an abbot, canon,

royal councillor and almoner. The learned culture that we find in the latter, we miss in Bullant, and he himself says in the dedication of his book on geometry; "Monsignor, I beg that if you find some fault in the letter and language, that you will excuse the rudeness and bad ornamentation of the said language, because I am not a Latinist". And in his architecture, "however simple and mechanical it may be", he excuses himself on account of his "small ability to comprehend the books of Vitruvius". Bullant also restricts himself --- since he only wrote his book "for the workmen, for men skilled in the art do not need my writings", --- and in the representation of the different orders of columns, but which he teaches how to draw with extreme accuracy by geometrical formulas and principles, so that his book in fact must have been of considerable value then for practice. We also see from this example, what earnest labor in that time every architect must have given to the thorough study of his art, particularly in the investigation of proportions. On the last page he releases the reader with the question of a sonnet, in which is said among other things:-

"So one having in view in my France

Many beautiful palaces of proud appearance,

It does not yield at all to the Babylonians".

With the year 1570 ceased the royal disfavor to Bullant also. He was appointed architect by Catherine and overseer of her buildings, and since de l'Orme had just died, he entered on the Tuileries as his successor. Besides since the queen stopped the erection of the palace from superstition, he must build for her a new city chateau, the palace of the queen later called mansion de Soissons. It was later supplanted by the grain market hall, in the masonry of which is still preserved a colossal Corinthian column of it. Since Primaticcio also died in the same year as de l'Orme, he was then appointed in place of the former as overseer of the royal buildings, and as such not only conducted the works of Fontainebleau, but also the erection of the royal tombs in S. Denis. He is designated in the accounts as "ordainer of the said sepulchre". Likewise on chateau S. Maur, which the queen caused to be considerably enlarged, we find him engaged.

Bullant being ill and weak in Ecouen made his will in Oct. 1573,

and died there on the 10 th of the same month. He left a wife with nine children. P. Lescot had departed a month earlier, and thus there remained of the great masters, that had carried the Renaissance movement to its completion in France, only du Cerceau, and he also soon ended his life on foreign soil.

## 72. Chateau of Ecouen.

Ecouen lies 22.5 miles northerly of Paris in a valley enclosed by hills and surrounded by magnificent groups of trees. When the constable de Montmorency tore down the feudal castle and caused a new chateau to be erected, it evidently was his intention to compete with the most magnificent royal buildings in grandeur and magnificence of design. He found in Bullant the skilful master, who was still full of the impressions of Italy and created a work, that must be reckoned as the first of his time. Fortunately saved through the storms of the Revolution until our days, it belongs to the few almost intirely existing chateaus of that epoch. Only the main portal with its triumphal arch was torn down by a later possessor, merely to save a few thousand francs for its restoration. Napoleon I gave the chateau for the purpose of a training institute for the daughters of members of the legion of honor, and after a brief interruption it still serves for that use.

The chateau forms a great rectangle, that is grouped around a nearly square court of 70 by 60 ft. (Fig. 95). At the corners project high pavilions as great enclosures flanked by little round stair towers in the outer angles, the last reminiscences of mediaeval design. On three sides, front, left and rear, moats surround the building; at the right side is a great terrace. Smaller terraces inside the moats directly surround the building and afford a view over the gardens, park and forest. A garden enclosed by walls that show niche architecture at two sides adjoins the front side of the main facade; intersecting the terraces and moat almost to the main entrance. Before and to the rear lead drawbridges to fortified entrances, which are protected by low towers executed in rustication. Of the four wings composing the building, the front contains only a long gallery opening to the court by pier arcades. The two side wings are divided in 1 large rooms and halls, and each has at the middle a main stairs with straight flight. Smaller stairs lie in the four corners.

The rear wing is divided into a series of living rooms, of which the largest measures 24 by 18 ft. Of the pavilions, that at the left corner of the front side contains the chapel, with its own stairs and sacristy. The three others are arranged with larger and smaller living rooms. The plan is very clearly and distinctly expressed; the connection of the rooms is suitable and very easily accessible by the numerous stairs. As in most chateaus of the time, care is here taken to obtain a number of independent apartments, at least consisting of two connected chambers and having its own entrance.

For the architectural character the artist has adopted many elements of the earlier French architecture, but has subjected them to the law of symmetry and the forms of the Renaissance. (Fig. 96). The little round angle turrets and their lanterns, the steep roofs with their ornamental crownings of lead, the high chimney caps with the severe subdivision by pilasters and arches, but particularly the dormers with their enclosure by pilasters, crowned by a more or less addition, belong here. On the different parts of the building the terminations of these dormers vary with good forethought; on the light one story gallery of the front wing they have a sportive and ornamental form, on the right side wing, that extends over the great terrace and receives a middle structure like a loggia crowned by an antique pediment is obtained a more classical impression, and they are covered by simple curved caps. On the high pavilions and the court facades they have little niches with statues, are enclosed by pilasters, with a pediment in the middle like the antique. Bullant entirely retained the Gothic style in the chapel, a proof of how long even for religious buildings this time still adhered firmly to the traditional forms. On the whole we recognize from all these tendencies, that Bullant in the first fruits of his work occupies a position between the old and new epochs, while de l'Orme in his own (Anet) adheres without exception to the classical tendency, rejects the great corner pavilions, accents the unity of the horizontals even by the roofs, erects the chapel in severely classical style and only permits a few vestiges of a concession to the mediaeval conception to be recognized. But even all this Bullant's building acquires a more natural expression, and affects us like a breath of warmer invention.

The classical world of form has reserved itself for the principal parts of his composition, and one must confess that he has handled it with artistic consciousness and with freedom. Most beautiful doubtless on the magnificent triumphal arch of the main entrance, whose motive de l'Orme adopted in Anet, and indeed by its transfer to the end of the court has given it an entirely novel effect. He built this triumphal arch in three stories as a strongly projecting porch, with Doric columns in the ground story, above with Ionic, and in the last is decorated by telamon-hermes, and adorned by niches in the narrow side panels. The portal opens widely with a straight lintel; above in the principal story is a loggia with large arched opening, finally in the upper story was the equestrian statue of the constable. Besides the arches crouching figures of sphynxes rest on the attic. The entire composition is without question one of the most spirited uses and changes of the antique motive, that we possess from that time. The cylindrical roof has also been placed by the artist on the gallery of the front wing.

While then on the exterior as on the interior the facades are throughout divided only by plain systems of Doric pilasters, the architect has wisely restricted himself on this to the axial lines, particularly making the three court facades more splendid. Simplest still is the wide gateway lying opposite the main entrance as a triumphal archway with one opening, enclosed by projecting Doric columns and the rich entablature of the same order. Capitals and archivolts are finely divided, shields garlanded with laurel alternate in the metopes with trophies, in the spandrels of the arches are soaring Victories with laurel branches. Likewise the arched passage is richly coffered. More stately is developed the middle of the right wing. It occurs here boldly to emphasize two portals separated by broad wall surfaces. Bullant had taken the upper story with the great windows into his composition, placed statues in the intermediate wall and flanked the whole by coupled columns, between which still remained space for smaller niches. The lower order is Doric, the upper Corinthian, the entire composition having a noble effect in its severe classicism; only a fault that beneath the windows the Doric entablature is cut through to make space for tablets with emblems. The attic is adorned by crescents round

with laurel and forms the termination.

But still more grandly is treated the opposite middle of the left wing. Here the artist placed perhaps earliest in France a colossal order of columns extending through two stories, whose magnificent details are imitated from the temple of the Dioscures of the forum. Between the middle columns open two entrances to the stairway and the adjacent halls, above the ground story being two little, and in the upper story two large windows; in the two side intercolumniations are arranged niches, in which the constable had caused to be placed the two captives by Michelangelo, that were originally made for the tomb of Julius II, and later passed into the museum of the Louvre. The architecture of this prominent portion shows the greatest richness in all members, even to the window mouldings, cornices and enclosures. The decoration of the architraves is faithfully imitated from the temple of the Dioscures, on the frieze are seen trophies with laurel branches and laurel garlands above crossed swords; only on the crowning cornices was the architect compelled to reject the great consoles.

Finally we still have to consider the loggia already briefly mentioned, which projects at the right outer side for a free oversight of the great terrace there. Likewise here the artist has freely employed an antique motive, that of the triumphal arch, and in both principal stories has opened a great archway between two lesser ones, and crowned the whole by an antique pediment. The enclosures below consist of fluted Doric pilasters with entablature and high frieze, above of similarly fluted Ionic pilasters and an entablature on whose frieze are carved splendid festoons of leaves. Bad that the architect has broken the cornice at the middle in order to obtain space for his arches and for two Victories, that fill the tympanum to the archivolt. It sufficiently results from our illustration, how freely Bullant employed antique forms in the sense of his time, and how he has accepted an entirely French national building merely as a splendid ornamentation.

The entire equipment of the chateau breathed the same artistic spirit and was of such perfection, that du Cerceau even emphasizes the rich pavements of the terraces and the court, that were obtained from Rouen, and says of the latter; "The court is

so richly paved that a second to it cannot be found". Scarcely any vestiges remain of the rich furnishing of the interior. Rosso had adorned the chateau by paintings, J. Goujon and Ponce with sculptures. Antique statues even stood in the passages and the stairways, masterworks of Italian painters ornamented the halls, glass painted after the compositions of Raphael was in the windows. With particular magnificence was the chapel equipped. On the walls was a paneling of costly inlaid woods, the galleries already exhibited beautifully carved balustrades, the Gothic ribbed vaults were covered by frescos of J. Cousin, and the floor consisted of glazed tiles by the best French masters. Of all this nothing is left but the altar, that in the time of the Revolution was placed in the museum of French monuments, and was later transferred to the chateau of Chantilly. In contrast to the Gothic style was it strictly designed in the antique spirit: a representation of it is given by Baltard. The side of the altar table was ornamented by J. Goujon with reliefs of the cardinal virtues and the evangelists, above it rises a magnificent framed relief representing the sacrifice of Isaac, flanked at each side by two elegant marble Doric columns with an entablature in the same style. Likewise here Bullant has also expressed his inspiration from the antique in a separate piece of magnificence.



## Chapter VII. Renaissance under the last Valois.

## B. The remaining secular buildings.

## 73. Chateau of Ancy-le-Franc.

Of the series of important private buildings, whose architects are unknown, but which adhere to the basal tendencies established by the fashionable architects of the time, we first emphasize the chateau of Ancy-le-Franc. It lies in old Burgundy in a pleasant plain bordered at one side by hills, and it was commenced about 1545 by count Antoine de Clermont, forester general of France, apparently after plans by Primaticcio. The building is one of those best preserved of the time, and exhibits the regular arrangement of four wings surrounding a square court and with angles flanked by four projecting pavilions. A broad moat receives its water from a little river Armancon and surrounds the building on all sides. The plan (Fig. 97) presents the model of a clear and regular arrangement. Around the moat extends a high terrace, that affords a free view on all sides. Over a drawbridge one passed to the principal entrance A and at the rear to the gate N, that forms the connection with the extensive gardens. A wide hall D corresponds to a similar one in the upper story and then leads at both sides into the court, which forms a square of 34 ft. In the angles are placed four winding stairs, and in the distribution of the rooms it occurs that frequently smaller chambers are placed in two stories over each other. The living apartments however lie in the upper story. They consist of a number of larger halls and rooms, particularly over the room C lies an important hall 62 ft. long by 26 ft. wide; in the pavilion L is the chapel, in the wing adjoining it at the left is a magnificent gallery, that occupies the entire length between the two and affords the view over the garden. The walls are all 6 ft. thick, so that du Cerceau says; "Nowhere is a more solidly built chateau enclosing dark rooms". But he continues, "quite the contrary is known; nothing is wanting required to serve for a building, whether height of stories, embasures for the windows, or in beauty of lighting. On my part I find this residence very charming and to my liking".

The architecture of the chateau has great simplicity and clarity. The external facades exhibit a plain subdivision by a system of pilasters of the Doric style, alike in both stories as

well as in the upper story of the pavilions carried higher. The steep roofs, pyramidal on the pavilions and ending in lanterns, the high chimney caps and the small dormers crowned plainly by antique gables, continue the national peculiarity of the building. A bold cornice with consoles crowns all parts. Somewhat richer are the court facades (Fig. 98), yet here also prevails simplicity and clarity. coupled pilasters are Corinthian below and Composite above, the wall surfaces between them are divided by niches, and enclose the arches of the windows in both stories. The upper story is only somewhat depressed because the console cornice is placed directly on the architrave. Otherwise the fluted pilasters exhibit a true artistic execution by their finely wrought capitals, elegant profiles, the mouldings, particularly the consoles of the crowning cornice being decorated by the acanthus. This entirely noble architecture can be termed a simplification of the magnificent court facades of the Louvre.

Of high worth is the treatment of the interior, preserved in great part. Precious wood panelings on the walls and likewise paneled ceilings with ornamental painted arabesques partly in gold, give proof of the refined artistic feeling that prevails here. Rouyer & Darcel give in their work examples of these decorations, especially of the ceilings, that belong to the noblest and most beautiful of their kind. Others are found in Sauvageot. Particularly the so-called chamber of the cardinal, the chapel and the room of the "faithful shepherd" are distinguished. The latter has its name from the paintings on its walls, that represent scenes from that well known tale. The building with its equipment could scarcely have been completed later than 1569, which was the year of the death of its builder.

#### 74. Chateau Vallery.

Still more severe and not even free from monotony is the architectural style in the chateau of Vallery located 22.5 miles f from Fontainebleau and almost as far from Sans. There stood here an important castle from the middle ages, that marshal S. Andre caused to be torn down in part about the middle of the 18 th c century and to be extended by a building in the new style. To the old portions, that were grouped around two outer courts and were enclosed by walls defended by numerous towers, he added a great rectangular court, enclosed on two sides by the new build-

building, both whose wings were connected by a high pavilion. The architecture of this portion is a new proof of the influence, that the building of the Louvre undertaken at just this time, exerted on contemporary architecture. This is particularly true of the external parts, that in their treatment bear an undeniable similarity to Lescot's facade of the Louvre lying next the river. Excepting that the masses of the walls here consist of bricks, while the high plinth of the window sill in the ground story, the dry rusticated enclosures of the angles and the windows, as well as the cornices are executed in cut stone. The windows in the ground story are terminated by curved caps, those in the upper story of the pavilion having angular caps, otherwise ending with a bold cornice on consoles. Likewise the dormers with their curved caps and the elongated volutes at their sides have a severe antique treatment, and the whole is not free from a certain monotony, even if the bold profiling of the forms, the imposing proportions and the animated movement of the masses give it the stamp of fresh energy.

Three drawbridges led over the wide moats, one to a side court and the two others to the court of honor. Of these the one placed at the end of the right wing belonged to the mediaeval building, as already seen by the round towers flanking it. Evidently the building was to be extended farther here and the entire mediaeval arrangement was to be replaced. Then as at the Louvre, in Ancy-le-Franc and Ecouen, was intended a rectangle with high pavilions at the angles. The other entrance with a portal like the antique lies in the middle of the left wing, and one passes from it into a great hall decorated by niches in the walls, that opened with five arches resting on piers into the court (Fig. 99). Each one of this system of arches is expressed on the inner facade by a crowning gable. The architecture of the court side follows the severe classical conception like the facades, excepting that rustication is here suppressed, and on suitable places, particularly in the niches of the upper story and the enclosed wall panels of the lower, refined ornament adds a noble ornamentation. Du Cerceau already did not miss the relation to the Louvre and he says: - "This pavilion in part follows that of the Louvre, not that this is the same arrangement in the enrichments or the same convenience; but because there is here nothing but beautiful and good".

Extremely extensive were the parks, gardens and vineyards, that surrounded the beautiful estate to a great distance on all sides. Especially magnificent is the great ornamental garden in the vicinity of the residence with rich beds of flowers, in the midst being a great water basin. Broad and beautifully paved terraces surround it on all sides, enclosed by a brick wall with blind arcades. Opposite the entrance on the south side was placed a covered portico between two high pavilions, opening to the garden by 29 arches, in summer being a shady promenade. The architecture of the arcade and the pavilions is executed in the same simple classical sense as that of the chateau.

#### 75. Chateau of Verneuil.

One of the grandest creations of the entire French Renaissance is chateau Verneuil, a knowledge of which we owe to du Cerceau. Executed with a full understanding of the antique world of form, it shows this in a freedom of treatment, that permits the assumption of an important architect of the time, as such is mentioned to us J. Brosse; the great rebuilding was not yet completed in 1585. If Bullant employed at the chateau of Ecouen the antique elements merely as a splendid accessory in order to prove his studies, if de l'Orme at Anet sacrificed the antique to many peculiarities of French ideas, the master of Verneuil has attained that high freedom of treatment, which indeed moves within the antique circle of forms, but brings the national stamp into perfect expression. We must indeed in certain parts allow some Barocco elements to please us; but we should not forget, that also then in Italy many caprices of Michelangelo had penetrated into architecture.

In a charming valley of Picardy 4.5 miles from Senlis lay the old castle of Verneuil, a stately structure in great part dating from the middle ages, which Philip de Boulainvillier possessed about the middle of the 16th century. This noble that du Cerceau terms a "man that was a great amateur of architecture", decided that retaining the old parts, he would add a new and magnificent building, for which he took a hill beside the old parts of the castle. Likewise the indispensable moat was cut, that must surround the new building on all sides, which afforded the advantage, that there was found in abundance excellent and easily wrought stone for the structure. We give according to du

Cerceau the original plan of the building, that personifies the programme of the French chateau of that time in a grand way (Fig. 100). Over the drawbridge one passed through a splendid entrance hall, characterized as a rotunda with additions in niche form and a high domical vault, indeed the earliest example of its kind in France. Open arches on coupled columns connect it with the side wings of the chateau. One now enters a rectangular court of imposing extent, 108 ft. square. About it are grouped the separate wings, flanked at the corners by two pavilions, and not by the usual single one. These projecting masses are covered by cylindrical roofs (Fig. 101) --- perhaps one of the first examples ---, which give the building an extremely animated effect. When the duke of Nemours later acquired the building, he changed this arrangement, so that instead of the two pavilions only one, but of greater extent rose at each corner. According to the custom of the time the pavilions were further divided into separate living apartments with cabinets and were mostly furnished with a separate stairway. The other living rooms lay in the wing on the right of the entrance, while the left wing in its entire extent contained an open portico below and a gallery above, the favorite part of the plan of the French chateau of the time. The principal stairway lies in the axis of the building opposite the entrance. It ascends from a wide vestibule in two curved branches and a double flight, besides the principal stairway of the Tuilleries being one of the earliest in France.

But with this important composition the whole did not pass into completion. The duke of Nemours caused not only many alterations and enrichments in the main building, but decided to add toward the garden also a projecting mass of buildings, that formed at the middle a colossal niche as a termination of the plan of the garden, and flanked at both corners by projecting pavilions, likewise with cylindrical roofs. In the plan in du Cerceau's drawings, this building is connected by a great hall with the rear of the chateau, but in the perspective view a clear space lies between them as a continuation of the terrace, that surrounds the entire chateau. A double flight of steps leads from there down to the lower garden. At the left were the court and the buildings of the old castle; but in fact was seen a magnificent ornamental garden with a flowing fountain at the middle;

at its end and always on the main axis a double flight of steps led to a second considerably lower garden, which consisted of flower beds in the middle, enclosed by plantations at both elevated sides. A moat surrounded this second garden and was further repeated in two parallel branches, so as to form for its entire length two transverse alleys enclosed by water, on the principal axis of the chateau being connected by bridges with triumphal gateways, and terminated at the end by a pavilion. The view from this backward over the canals, the arbor walks, the two flower gardens rising above each other to the colossal semicircular niche with its pavilions, the whole still dominated by the richly subdivided masses of the chateau, must never have had its equal. In any case it was one of the earliest designs to take into account in an elevated ideal sense the formation of the ground itself.

Let us return to the chateau to glance finally at its architecture. In this first arrangement the exterior chiefly produced its effect by eight corner pavilions (Fig. 101). It had above the high ground story an upper story, above which it ended with a bold cornice with consoles and a terrace adorned by a balustrade. From this rose an upper story with a considerable diminution and crowned by cylindrical roofs. The architecture is at the same time dry and rich; the former by the bold rustication at the plinth and the corners, the latter by the wall panels covered by ornaments, foliage, masks and helmets, that fill the surfaces beside the windows, as well as by the richly designed trophies, that are placed over the curved caps of the windows in the upper story. It is notable, that we here find one of the first examples of separately rusticated ashlars, which intersect the enclosures of the windows, the round portal of the front, like the one story connecting building, is elevated to a piece of magnificence by coupled Corinthian columns and a richly decorated frieze. Above a balustrade the middle building is terminated by an addition in semicircular form and is crowned by a lantern. Thus certainly much in the forms bears the ugly stamp of caprice, yet the whole is still created in a truly artistic spirit on the whole, so that it makes an imposing impression.

The internal court facades (Fig. 102) are also here suitably

characterized by a more refined and ornamental treatment. In the lower story rise on high pilasters elegant fluted and coulted Doric pilasters, that in the upper story are continued as broad vertical bands broken by niches with statues. The termination is formed by an attic with a splendidly ornamented parapet, above which the pilasters are crowned by trophies. In both stories are arranged high windows with crossbars, but on the contrary the roofs of moderate height have no windows. Especially rich and noble is the left wing, that in the ground story is opened by arcades instead of windows (Fig. 102). The laurel branches in the spandrels, the masks on the keystones, the trophies and the broken frieze, the arabesques on the pilaster frieze of the upper story, the refined treatment of all members, particularly the foliage on the cornices and the enclosing mouldings, all this gives this facade an ornamental abundance, that competes with the treatment of the internal facades of the Louvre. At the middles of each of the three court facades are further arranged portals, in the ground story with coupled Doric columns, flanked in the upper story by two caryatids at each side. Above the main cornice rises a curved gable with a termination, richly ornamented and crowned by two seated female figures. Du Garreau is correct, when he says; "If I could say to those who know in such cases, that this court will scarcely find its second".

The changes that the duke of Nemours undertook at the building chiefly concerned the simplification of the plan and of the external facades. Since at the corners the two pavilions were combined into one, then the lantern added at top must be omitted and changed into the complete upper story. Thereby the proportions become more slender, the outlines more quiet and harmonious. Agreeing with those the windows were more simply treated and the ornamentation was placed generally at a few points, limited to the original crowning of the facade and the middle entrance. The latter also lost its attic and became a substructure of the dome, with a single but tolerably colossal order. While thus all was simplified and changed in the sense of a grander effect, there was developed on the early added projecting building next the garden a capriciously absurd magnificence, that only finds its like on the white house of chateau Gaillon. The great semi-circle and the angle pavilions are ornamented by colossal Corin-

Corinthian pilasters, that project on high pedestals and bear a luxuriantly decorated frieze. The middle building ends above them by a balustrade, but the pavilions have a lower upper story, whose subdivision is effected by broad pilasters over the columns. On these pilasters are wonderfully squat forms of satyrs with Egyptian head dresses and doubled butterfly wings, and spread legs of animals, between which the arms extend to the ground. On their head dress colossal leaf crowns rise excessively to the cornice. Combined therewith the overloading ornamentation of all other parts, the figures resting on the window caps of the ground story, that in the enclosures of the upper windows extend into wild arabesques, and that are covered by broken volute gables, the overrich lavishing of foliage on friezes and other surfaces, finally the four colossal atlantes, representing the four great monarchies and enclosing the portal, thus must one confess, that here a carnival of form is loosed, that however with all this betrays the hand of an important artist.

Was was this master that on the front building was so massively severe, and on the garden facade was so extremely luxuriant? I believe that J. A. du Cerceau himself is to be recognized as the originator of this part. Whoever compares the designs in his different works, particularly in the book of architecture of 1532, will discover a great affinity in the artistic tendencies. Design 87 has not only in plan but also in elevation, in the cylindrical roofs of the corner pavilions, the semicircular gable over the middle building a decided similarity to Verneuil. The curved roofs generally play an important part in those works of du Cerceau. The earnest and severe style of the architecture on the exterior at Verneuil finds its parallel in most of the designs. But even for the fanciful Barocco growth of the garden pavilion finds an analogy in the "Solomonic order" of the triumphal arch (p. 283). That he does not name himself as the originator of the building cannot be taken as negative evidence, since he scarcely ever speaks of the architects of the chateaus drawn by him, partly because he assumes them to be generally known, partly since that time may have still had the custom from the middle ages of allowing the architect to retire behind his work. On the other hand if we cast into the balance, that



du Cerceau was near the duke of Nemours, as shown by the dedication of his last work, then will our conjecture be raised to probability.

#### 76. Chateau Charleval.

Yet grander than the work described in the last Section was the design of chateau Charleval, which Charles IX desired to cause to be erected near Andelys in Normandy, but which even less came to completion than chateau Verneuil. Brantome says:- "In that forest he had caused to be laid the foundations of the most superb residence ever in France, and named it Charleval, because of the location in a valley and of his own name". And du Cerceau states:- "The king caused to be designed a plan worthy of a monarch, and caused it to be cared for and began a building of the lower court; and the foundation being laid, erected the first story and established there the offices. If it had been perfected, I believe that it would have been the first of the buildings of France, for the size that it would have had.

These words are not too strong, if we glance at the plan in du Cerceau. That shows an area to be built upon far behind what would have remained even the original plan of the Tuileries. It would have become a palace of an extent elsewhere found only in the seats of oriental monarchs, suited in a high degree to represent royalty, and yet this entire arrangement from its lonely situation would be regarded as only the private residence of a prince. The whole was to form a nearly square rectangle of 1080 ft. wide and 1060 ft. deep. A moat was to enclose the entire building, and a drawbridge led across this to the front side. At the rear a second drawbridge formed the connection with a vast garden of almost equal extent, likewise surrounded by canals and divided in the middle transversely by a broad basin of water, extending at the end into a rather elliptical round enclosed by leafy arcades. As du Cerceau testifies, Charles caused the garden to be completed; of the chateau only some portions were executed, being interrupted by the king's death.

The ground lines of the plan are as follows. From the portal hall of the front entrance one passed into the vast outer or lower court, that formed a square of 430 ft., surrounded by arcades and servants' dwellings. Of these two courts the outer forms the forecourt and the preparation for the inner one, and

one passes through double colonnades and a wide gateway into a smaller second court, whose middle at each side was occupied by a chapel. The principal building of the chateau in the middle of the great middle court is arranged about a square court as a structure with four wings with magnificent pavilions at the corners. Beside it extend on both sides flower gardens with leafy alleys, enclosed by terraces with arcades. The chateau in its arrangement exhibits the same severe symmetry as all else. Through an imposing gateway one enters a broad vestibule, from which ascends a stately stairway with doubled straight flights. In the axes of the two side wings are also double stairways, but with winding flights, arranged like the main stairway of the Tuileries. The show piece of the building is the vast festal hall, that occupies the middle of the wing next the garden, three-aisled with two rows of columns, 180 ft. long by 72 ft. wide. Beside it at each side is a stairway in connection with the other rooms. A doubled flight of steps in horseshoe form leads from the hall down into the garden. The form of the hall, that casts into shadow by its greater width of galleries previously common, the imposing development of the steps, the severely executed symmetry of the whole, allows to be recognized in this building the first energetic attempt of a new conception, to place the tendency to the colossal instead of the former tradition. The attempt was precipitate and was frustrated. First under Louis XIV was this tendency realized.

What du Cerceau has preserved to us of the architecture of this colossal work, although only the buildings of the outer court, corresponds to this endeavor in a manner from which one cannot strip genius, although in the forms and composition enough caprice is added. The architect has first of all directed his endeavors to expressing great proportions by corresponding great forms, since little forms did not suffice here. To execute this he employed the means which at the same time in Italy came to rule, particularly by Palladio, and of which we have already found an example in France, on the later portions of the chateau of Chantilly (p. 36). This is the use of colossal orders of columns or pilasters, that include two stories. On the facades of the court is this system so formed, that mighty fluted pilasters extend to the roof cornice, between which in the lower story al-

alternates a high arch, above it being a likewise very high window of the upper story, beside it in the succeeding system is a low rectangular doorway partly closed by a balustrade, over which is placed a slender niche with a statue. This entire system is based on a deception, on the illusion that one only has to do with a single story, wherefore even the niches by their estimate lead the eye above the line at which one would seek the floor of the upper story. But the principle being once granted, the composition has an eminent effect and betrays the hand of a master of the first rank.

Meanwhile the architect must play an intellectual concealment of the main lines of the internal construction, and so he rises on the external facade to a treatment, against which architectural logic can say nothing. He subdivides his wall surfaces by great Doric pilasters executed in rustication and standing on a high lower story like a plinth. Between these he arranges each time two systems of windows, indeed in the lower as well as in the upper story, yet so that the lap of the lower extends into the parapet of the upper, and also there carries through the great vertical lines. The windows are likewise enclosed by rustication, while the filling walls consist of bricks. This composition is therefore so rational, since the great pilasters are to be accepted as not merely an expression, but in their functions as buttresses, that accordingly without reference to the internal division into stories form a unity from the plinth to the roof, within which the internal arrangement is shown by the windows and made sufficiently clear. Also the forms in detail are peaceful and are yet treated with tolerable severity, even if the caprice of the taste of the time appears in the broken gables and window caps. Likewise the richer decoration of the court facades breathes the same spirit of energetic clarity, the same great sense of proportion, rhythmic alternation and monious effect. In a word, the whole is a composition of the first rank.

Also here we know nothing of the person of the architect, if some indications do not point again to du Cerceau. We find again the wealth of imagination, the grandeur of the composition, the living sense of the effect of the masses and his judgment of contrasts in his numerous designs. The use of the colossal Doric

pilasters we find in design 23 of his book of architecture of 1532; he employs rusticated pilasters in No. 20 as at Charleval. Perhaps more important is the fact, than in his description of Charleval he adds a great sheet with actual variations for the development of the external facades, between which the designing architect had evidently left the choice to the owner. Still we add, that in this case we only have to do with conjectures. We might only emphasize this, that one must well believe him capable of such a design on account of his other works.

#### 77. Chateau of Pailly.

We now pass to the consideration of two chateaus, that merit attention less by their extent than by their noble classical architecture. In both is believed to be recognized the hand of the same architect, since both were erected at the order of the same owner, marshal de Tavannes. Gaspard de Saulx, marquis de Tavannes, plays a very important part in the history of France in the second half of the 16th century. Bold and brave, he dared to appear at the court of Henry II as a sworn enemy of Diana of Poitiers, and yet he knew how to obtain the marshal's baton by his warlike services. In the civil wars he became prominent as a violent persecutor of the Huguenots, and his fanaticism went so far, that he gave his approval to the murderous plan of the night of St. Bartholomew, and according to Brantome's testimony at that horrible catastrophe, he rushed through the streets with the cry:—"Kill= Kill! Bleeding is as good in the month of August as in May!" In the year 1563 he suffered the loss of his eldest son, and "believing the peace lasting, he engaged in building the chateau of Pailly, in which he employed his good household and exercised himself in the chase".

The chateau is located in the little place Du Pailly at two hours from Langres, and exhibits an irregular form, that evidently is explained by the use of the foundations of a mediaeval structure, perhaps also by the rocky ground on which it is erected. Three sides, one of which is destroyed, are placed at right angles, the fourth forming an oblique angle. Where it joins the facade, there projects a great rectangular pavilion, which contains the principal entrance. At the other three corners are placed round towers, whose arrangement is perhaps also to be attributed to the middle ages. The external sides of the chateau

are entirely simple and without architectural importance. A moat over which lead two drawbridges and a broad stone bridge for the principal entrance, surrounds the whole. In contrast to the entire plainness of the other parts, the entrance pavilion at the southwest angle of the building is treated with extreme richness. Above a high ground story, whose pointed rustic ashlar form a transition to the plain masses of the adjacent parts, there rise two stories of stately proportions and decorated by projecting coupled columns. These are Ionic in the second story, Corinthian in the third, all with very slender fluted shafts, merely resting on simple plinths. In the middle they enclose a high window with double crossbars, while the wall surfaces at both sides are adorned by rich framed marble slabs. The frieze in the principal story is decorated by elegant flowers and is broken over the columns, but is continuous on the intercolumniations. On the contrary the second story terminates in a crowning cornice with great consoles that take the place of a frieze. The upper ending was formerly a niche with an equestrian statue of the marshal and flanked by pilasters. All parts of this splendid composition are brought into a harmonious whole by elegant numbering and fine ornamentation. The existing frames of the marble slabs consist of foliage, volutes and masks, the slabs having a noble and picturesque effect, the friezes in both stories and finally the enclosures of the windows with their ornamental bands exhibit a result of that mode of ornamentation, that about the middle of the 16th century again splendidly blossomed again.

In the interior the building enclosed a regular court 70 ft. square. The eastern wing has disappeared; the adjacent northern one in great part consists of a colossal keep from the middle ages, that by its heavy masses crushes the effect of the other parts, and even the main portal placed beside it scarcely permits all its richness to appear. The opposite south side contains at the easterly angle a round stairway with winding stairs opening to the court by arches, that is connected with the entrance pavilion, and between both stairways extends an arcade on round arches, above which in the second story being a narrow gallery. The living apartments are chiefly distributed in the western wing and in the adjacent angle of the northern one. In the upper story is arranged a passage projecting over three ft.

on colossal consoles, for connecting the northern and southern wings. The entire construction in massive solidity is made of a hard stone like granite.

The architecture of the separate court facades exhibits a certain diversity and perfect harmony in noble classical forms with moderate treatment, and merely occasional cartouches are intermingled with more fanciful elements. Simplicity and solidity prevail, and they have also determined the use of plain Doric pilasters in the ground story and of Ionic in the upper story. With this is connected in good harmony the rustication of the masonry, that by regular pointing appears refined and elegant. Up to the impost of the arch is this rustication carried on the pilasters of the ground story. Particularly beautifully is arranged the proportion of the openings to the mass of the wall. Between the separate arches the wall surfaces are each divided by two pilasters, between which remain spaces for little handsome framed slabs. Otherwise the effect of this noble facade depends on the contrast of the pointed rustication with the smooth surfaces on the pilasters, entablatures, plinths and window parapets. The termination is formed by an attic above a bold cornice with consoles, that is crowned by gables over the system of separate arches, whose tympanums exhibit a filling by cartouches. The open staircase, that in the upper story is decorated by Corinthian pilasters and ends in a round dome, lends to this facade an especially picturesque charm.

An allied treatment makes itself felt on the western facade, (Fig. 108), except that here instead of the arcade the ground story also shows great windows with cross bars, and that between these project those great consoles in pairs, on which rests the connecting passage. These consoles rise from the plinth, at midheight have energetic masks and from thence above a effectively ornamented by flutes.

With good reason the distinguished master of this building has reserved the greatest magnificence for the narrow portion of the northern facade, that beside the old keep contains the entrance to the main stairway. Three portals, the two smaller at both sides, one of which leads to a round side stairs, between them being the great portal arch of the main entrance, enclosed by coupled Doric pilasters, open the ground story. In the upper

story are projecting Composite columns, fluted and of extreme length, including a window at the middle with niches for statues at each side. Above follows an attic and then a great dormer window, whose coupled and arched windows are flanked by Composite pilasters and outer columns of the same order. The crowning gable and side additions to this structure with their volutes, scrolls and vases, genii and lions supporting arms, is not free from Barocco elements, but also has a skilful and effective grouping. This snowpiece of architecture is lavishly ornamented in all parts; the Doric pilasters of the ground story have panels of laurel leaves, the portal arches and the window enclosures are membered in the most beautiful manner, and finally the frieze in both stories is entirely covered by foliage. One fault is that the Corinthian columns of the upper story rest on too low plinths and thereby obtain an excessive length, which becomes still more apparent by the three interwoven bands on the upper half of their shafts. On the window parapet is seen the emblem of the marshal, a Pegasus, below it being his motto; "Whither lead the fates?"

The storms of the Revolution have left remaining little of the formerly rich equipment of the interior. To the best preserved portions belong the principal stairway, that in arrangement and ornamentation makes a distinguished impression. It rises from the vestibule in a straight flight, covered by a tunnel vault and is decorated by elegant framed marble slabs on the walls up to the first landing, from which it extends to the upper story in two branches. A stately vestibule ends here at the so-called "gilded hall", that occupies the entire area of the keep. The hall had a tunnel vault in the middle ages, that the Renaissance concealed by a wooden beam ceiling. The beams still show vestiges of painting, also the deep window recesses covered by mythological frescos, indeed of slight value. A magnificent fireplace (Fig. 20) on consoles adorned by acanthus with a Doric frieze, over it being a panel enclosed by coupled and finely fluted Corinthian pilasters, is covered by luxuriant cartouche work with festoons of fruits, exhibits the arms of the builder held by two winged genii. Colors and rich gilding to which are inserted marble slabs, enhance the impression of this magnificent work. Two galleries formerly led from this hall

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to the little chapel that lies in the northwest tower. It was covered by a dome, that rested on still existing fluted columns, between which are placed the forms in relief of six virtues. At present the chapel unfortunately serves as a dovecot.

#### 78. Chateau Sully.

The second building that the warlike marshal caused to be erected is chateau Sully, located in Burgundy 4.5 miles from Autun. It was begun in 1567, yet further works on it are mentioned in the years 1596, 1609 and even 1630. The marshal died here in the year 1573. With the two splendid buildings left behind by him, a statement in his memoirs is in strange contradiction. He says:—"Buildings cause an honorable impoverishment and a species of illness; scarcely can those who have commenced recover from it. If this be to leave a memorial of us, it turns more to the architect; he is a stranger to us, like those that have horses, stone quarries and money, who must acquire reputation to possess them. And the worst is that he builds nothing to suit posterity, that often makes doors where were windows, and few persons will see those buildings without finding some fault. Where shall we seek beauty, symmetry, and what vault is more beautiful than the sky? What garden or alley is more beautiful than the country?" More intelligible to us would be these complaints, if we accept them as not being the expressions of the owner, but of his heirs, who edited the memoirs.

Chateau Sully forms a tolerably regular rectangle, whose wings are grouped around a nearly square court of 125 by 115 ft. The exterior is without architectural importance. At the angles rise pavilions set diagonally, perhaps a later addition; in the middle of the north facade projects a later Gothic chapel. The entrance, to which one passes over a moat, lies in the middle of the east side.

All architectural interest is concentrated on the four facades of the court. Besides those of chateau du Failly they belong to the purest creations of this epoch. Designed in a similarly severe spirit of classicism, they adhere more closely than those to the Italian conceptions. Hence the strong accenting of horizontal lines, the simplification of the roof story, that is indeed retained but is subordinated and not even once is happily treated. Characteristic before all is the moderately earnest membering and decoration in the plainest forms of the antique.

the separate facades here are differently treated, though with a thoroughly unified basal harmony, only the southern and northern correspond to each other. In the axis of the west facade a and opposite the entrance projects a pavilion, which contains the principal portal and stairway. But while in the chateau du Pailly this part of the plan rises by a story above the other masses of the building, here also prevails for the pavilion the strictly horizontal lines of the common main cornice.

The arrangement of this facade is based on a system of coupled pilasters, but which are placed closer than on chateau du Pailly. As there here also in the ground story the Doric, in the upper the Ionic being employed, the former, like the story to which they belong, being treated with plain rustication. Deep arched recesses, within which lie the windows, open between the pilasters. In the upper story are great round-arched windows are placed doubled crossbars. On their parapets is seen in relief an imitation of a balustrade. A crowning cornice with acanthus consoles coupled in pairs forms a bold and as elegant a termination. The middle building has at each side of the arched portal smaller rectangular windows, above which are placed medallion heads enclosed in rich Barocco frames. Similarly here is also treated the upper story.

This facade is distinguished by beautiful proportions, fortunate contrast of the openings with the wall surfaces a living rhythm, and this is true in a still higher degree of the southern and northern facades. Likewise here are arcades in the lower story, in the upper story being arranged round arches to enclose the windows; but the openings are connected in pairs by a pilaster, but are separated from the succeeding group by two pilasters and a broad wall mass, so that an unusually animated rhythm, happier contrast and still more noble proportions result. Doubtless this facade is indeed one of the noblest, that the French Renaissance of this epoch has produced. The broad wall surfaces in the ground story are adorned by busts in medallions, in the upper story by rectangular flat recesses over which are placed heads in relief in oval medallions with elegant enclosures by cartouches. In the axis of the southern facade the two middle arches lead to the principal stairway.

The interior of the chateau has experienced numerous alterations.

Only one chamber shows unchanged its old decorations, the painted ceiling beams, the stately fireplace, and even the splendid hangings of this time. Further there is preserved in one hall a great fireplace with luxurious ornamentation in relief. Its strongly projecting mantle rests on columns of extremely fanciful form and ornamentation. Finally is seen in the apse of the chapel a costly ceiling, that contains in painted carved work, arabesques, masks and figures, mingled with cartouches of elegant design.

#### 79. Chateau Angerville-Bailleul.

How generally was accepted the ground motive once found for plans of chateaus, and how it was carried out with various transformations, is proved by a number of buildings of the epoch. As one of the most interesting of the smaller ones published by Sauvageot we here regard that of Angerville. Located near Fecamp in Normandy, it belongs to the smaller but also the more elegant chateaus of this epoch. Nothing has been obtained concerning its origin, but the character of its forms indicate the last decades of the 16 th century. For the antique orders are indeed treated with good understanding and in all purity, but in the common use of partly dry and partly eccentric cartouches and in many other elements already undeniably expresses the transition to the art style of the 17 th century.

The plan of the little building (Fig. 105) shows a rectangle without a court, flanked by four pavilions. It is the form already established for such plans, such as for example we found at Martainville, except that the earlier round towers have now become pavilions, and that the utmost possible regularity of the plan is striven for. The entrance is flanked by columns and lies in the middle of the facade leading into a vestibule, that is covered by cross vaults and decorated by niches in the walls. In the extension of this one reaches the comfortably arranged stairway, that in a straight flight ascends to a landing ornamented by niches and covered by cross vaults, and returning backward from it leads to the upper story. The distribution of the rooms is the same in the lower and upper stories, only that in the ground story the projecting part of the pavilion is separated as a little cabinet. Four rooms in the principal story, all of equal size except that diminished by the arrangement of the

stairway, and four side rooms in the pavilions form the whole. The chambers in the main building receive their light through wide double windows, thus in the pavilions through narrow single windows.

Particular care is devoted to the artistic treatment of the facade (Fig. 106). And indeed the richer ornamentation is concentrated on its middle portion, which contains the portal. In the ground story are elegant fluted Doric columns, that project free with bold entablature and enclose the portal. Over the latter is seen the arms held by old men in a richer than tasteful conception, and an odd mixture of opposed forms in a capricious connection. Ugly fabulous beings like sirens, genii with festoons of fruits, trophies and shields are combined in a wonderful manner, and by the scrolls of the cartouches entirely receive the stamp of the Barocco time. To these are added the separate ashlars, that just as rudely as without motive intersect the architraves of the portal and of the windows. In the second story follow Ionic, and in the third are Corinthian columns, all fluted and ornamentally wrought. Above rises a slender bell turret crowned by a lantern and flanked by Corinthian columns, which rest on elongated consoles. It is also here very Barocco, yet it cannot be denied, that the composition of this middle portion on the whole makes an original and animated impression. This was strengthened by the original arrangement of the roofs. Not only the angle pavilions have steep pyramidal roofs, but also the roof of the main building was divided into two independent high roofs, so that the bell turret with its ornamental lantern more effectively appeared against the sky. To this was added the unusually rich figure and ornamental decoration in hammered lead ornaments, that crown the roofs and likewise the already capricious but boldly composed dormer windows.

Of the initial equipment only remain fragments of the elegantly wrought wood paneling of the walls, Barocco in design and lean in drawing.

### 30. Chateau Mauna.

The animated use of geometrical forms and constructions, to which the architects of the Renaissance devoted themselves by preference, occasionally led them to experiment with complicated ground plans, instead of the naturally rectangular arrangement.

The circle and the various kinds of polygons in manifold use and combinations play a chief part in this, and it is as if in such composition is echoed at the cost of the otherwise so rational spirit of the architecture of time. In Italy the villa Caprarola is a notable example of this tendency. For France du Cerceau at least on paper gives sufficient models in a number of sketches in his book of architecture. He freely remarks occasionally there, when he presents too eccentric inventions, that he gives them "more to please and diversify than for anything else". In reality one building of this sort has been preserved till our day as a proof, that sometimes even here from such sports come the power of development of monumental earnestness.

This is the little chateau Maune (Mosne) near the railway station of Tanlay on the line from Paris to Lyons, located in the department of Yonne in old Burgundy. The duke of Uzès caused to be erected in the form of a regular pentagon, at whose angles rise external projections like towers, partly serving as bays and partly as stairways (Fig. 107). In the middle of the building du Cerceau says, there is placed a fountain below, around which a pentagon ascends forming a double winding stairway to connect the few large rooms into which the separate stories are divided. The stairs are entirely opened so that the fountain is always seen in ascending or descending. The same authority praises the utility of the arrangement:— "In this building are stoves, heaters, baths, very well arranged because of the fountain; together with halls, chambers, wardrobes and all conveniences necessary to a residence, so that a story supplies what is needed". The roof of the pentagon forms a pyramid, from the middle of which rises a little lantern. Du Cerceau devotes a detailed description to the construction of the beam ceiling with its rich ornamentation.

An enclosing wall with arches surrounds in horseshoe form the building, and opens on the garden with fishponds and fountains, which at the opposite side again ends in a semicircle. At the other side a connecting passage leads from the chateau, consisting of open arcades and a roof story, to the farm court, that exhibits an oval form, really two semicircles, that are connected by projecting rectangular structures. The semicircle toward the chateau contains open arcades in the lower story and service

dwellings in the attic. The other semicircle merely consists of an enclosing wall, that is broken at the middle by the entrance gateway. Walls like a fortress are arranged in a rectangle and are surrounded by wide moats, extending around the entire group of the chateau and garden. The architecture of the exterior is absolutely monotonous and without a vestige of artistic forms. We mention the wonderful building only because it is characteristic of one tendency of the time, and otherwise speaking with du Cerceau, "more for pleasure and change than anything else".

### 81. The gardens of the Renaissance.

We should now only possess an imperfect picture of the French Renaissance chateau, if we did not glance at the garden designs. Wherever space permitted, the mediaeval castle already possessed a garden, in which besides kitchen vegetables and fruit trees, it has flower beds of roses and lilies in particular, alleys of grapes, trimmed lawns with shady trees, sometimes with a fishpond and a fountain, if space existed. In the gardens strutted peacocks and swans were reflected in the fishpond. Under Charles V the accounts of the Louvre mention one "J. Baril, maker of vine arbors, for having made a great lawn in the said gardens and made of wood a lozenge entirely around it, with fleur-de-lis and battlements". Still the space for such arrangements was always restricted, life itself was too unquiet and warlike, the care for fortification and defence was too exclusive to afford for those gardens a greater importance. But in the 15th century when the feeling for nature was ever more strongly aroused, and found in art an animated echo, when the Flemish masters first released their forms of saints from the golden ground and placed them in the midst of the blooming life of spring, then also garden design became an object of artistic study, of esthetic treatment. It is characteristic of the enhanced feeling for nature of the time, that we so frequently see in the most charming paintings of the masters of the 15th century, that the Madonna is seen as represented within a hedge of roses, and that in all pictures a ground of natural lawn sprinkled with flowers extends beneath the figures.

But also here the decisive impulse was given by Italy. Already in the campaigns of Charles VIII against Naples the chroniclers were enraptured by nothing more than the magical gardens of Italian

villas. The nobility of the garden of Poggio reale captivated the king and his cavaliers more than all other creations of art, and likewise Jean d'Auton speaks with rapture of the beauty of the parks of Pavia (S. 1). No wonder that henceforth at all chateaus the arrangement of the gardens was cared for with particular energy. In agreement with this may be observed the following ground principles in all changes. The close vicinity of the chateau, i.e., of the living apartments of the master, is reserved for the arrangement of a bed of flowers, so that one not only enjoys the view of them, but could also quickly pass into it by a flight of steps. The arrangement of such steps as a connection with the garden is expressly prescribed in the documents of Fontainebleau, for example. Characteristic of the sentiment of the time is the severely symmetrical and regular treatment of this bed of flowers, that was even retained where in building a chateau restricted by older parts, the regularity and symmetry must be omitted. Gaillon presents a notable example. The separate flower beds have varied designs, not merely in rhythmically animated ornaments, but in all sorts of sports with initials, emblems and devices. In the varied ornamentation of this infinitely varying world of form, that on the one hand recalls the patterns of glazed floors, on the other the decorations of the ceilings, the love of ornamentation in the Renaissance again retains its inexhaustibility. Commonly is found one or even two of such beds of flowers as labyrinths or dedaluses as then called, a shape that refers to the mazes in the floors of mediaeval churches. What there designated to the penitent needing indulgence as a reward for his pious penance, here obtained the character of a merry sport. Such labyrinths are shown in du Cerceau in the garden of the Tuileries, and they occur in doubled designs in Gaillon and Montargis.

For a better oversight of the gay entirety, an elevated terrace extended around the flower bed, connected with it by a flight of steps, and sufficiently broad to serve a festal society as a promenade. Of the care with which these parts were also furnished, the building accounts of Gaillon afford numerous proofs. Particularly the pavements receive rich patterns by glazed tiles of varied colors. A fragment of such pavements has been found at Anet in recent times. As a rule the terraces were ext-

externally enclosed by walls, but already early they were surrounded on several sides by covered arcades, to obtain at pleasure shaded or sheltered sunny promenades. Already in Gaillon two sides of the garden are enclosed by covered galleries, that terminate at pavilions. Thus were obtained on the middle of the garden spaces for quiet retreat and peaceful meditation among the most beautiful surroundings. Likewise it is seen at one side of the gardens at Vallery and Chantilly, and in yet more complete manner at Rampierre. But the most beautiful example offered by Anet, where at three sides the great garden was surrounded by galleries with arcades in rustication, which as du Cerceau says, "gives to the garden a marvellous splendor in the view". Sometimes were connected therewith little oratorios, like the still Gothic chapels in the garden at Bury and at Gaillon. Likewise at Blois, where a long covered leafy alley extends from the chateau around three sides of the garden and finally ends at the chapel. On the contrary we later see de l'Orme erect in the park of Villers Coterets a chapel in severe antique forms. A breath of peaceful reverence of nature might play around this little oratorio in such surroundings and harmonize the recluse in the collection of his courage.

But also otherwise is care taken for shady walks. Light wooden galleries covered by ivy or grape vines are distributed in suitable arrangement between the flower beds, either crowning the middle of the lawn or extending along its sides. And these are not merely the modest structures of light vine trellises of bent strips, for the roof like a tunnel vault, but the art of the carpenter soon elevates these structures to higher importance, gives them the forms of stone construction, so that the long galleries are interrupted at the ends and the middle by raised pavilions. The most beautiful example of this kind was at Montargis (Fig. 103); others were seen at Verneuil, Charleval and Beauregard, here in severe antique treatment with entirely straight entablature and gables on the pavilions, on the contrary more free in expressive wood construction at Bury.

There prevailed in this nucleus of garden plans the merely architectural principle, and so appeared in effective contrast thereto the broad enclosure by extensive parks, in which greater freedom was allowed to rule all nature and all vegetation. Ind-



Indeed the fruit orchard with its lawns and regularly spaced fruit trees adhered firmly to the law of symmetry, but still formed a transition to the freer movement of the great leafy masses of the adjoining park. This was itself intersected in all directions by broad alleys of trees, with its lawns and shrubbery finally forming the transition to free nature, with which it connected the creation of the human mind.

To these two elements of vegetation and architecture was joined a third and no less important factor. In the middle ages men must utilize in this matter what nature freely and accidentally offered. But the architects of the Renaissance in their scientific training were at the same time skilled hydraulic engineers and knew how to give the garden an animated ornamentation by flowing water. In Gaillon we find P. Valence of Tours busied in conducting water and planning the fountains for the garden of the court of the chateau. In the building accounts Francis I expressly remembered the fountains arranged in St. Germain and Villers Coterets. The least least required is a fountain in the middle of the garden lawn, which is there transformed often into a comfortably cool and half enclosed place by a light wooden pavilion enclosing it, as in Gaillon and Blois. Where the unusual width of the garden requires it as at Anet and Chambord, two fountains are placed at equal distances. Richer waterworks with grottos and cascades scarcely occur in this time. Only at Chenonceau and at Gaillon are found examples, yet both are only from the second half of the century as additions of a later time.

This much more active part occurred for these elements, where the vicinity of a river afforded water in richer abundance. Then not merely was a canal extended around the garden, but sometimes in frequent repetition the life-giving element intersected the garden by parallel branches, as in the magnificent arrangement of Verneuil, or it was introduced in its entire width as a beautifully enclosed basin in the plan of the garden as in Charleval, Vallery and at the white house at Gaillon. Where the water thus surrounded the garden on all sides, men there sought to bring it directly near the eyes of the observer. Therefore here the enclosing walls were omitted and instead of closed galleries were arranged light leafy alleys through whose many openings was visible the surface of the water, bringing fresh air and a ple-

pleasant coolness into these galleries, otherwise easily damp. Thus it is seen at Dampierre and at Chantilly, but especially at Verneuil, where the water plays a direct part in the well branched canals, basins and great fishponds. On the other hand sculpture more rarely coes to aid, which in Italy wins such prominent importance in the gardens. Only at the hermitage at Gaillon is made an exception, and in Fontainebleau in du Garceau the Diana of Versailles occupies the middle of the smaller garden at the south side of the chateau.

Indeed the most perfect, that the garden architecture of this epoch in France produced is the garden of Verneuil, that we have described in S. 75. in the description of the chateau. Fig. 109 exempts us from a more extended explanation. Moreover the utilization of the rising ground produced important effects.

Remarkable that it is exceptionally arranged according to the irregular form of the chateau (dating substantially from the middle ages) is the garden of Montargis. In a wide semicircle forming two concentric wings, the inner one surrounded by walls and connected with the outer one by stately portals, it encloses the building within a great arc. The two labyrinths of the inner garden were already mentioned above as well as the magnificent double gallery, whose woodwork had a covering of ivy, partly represented in Fig. 108. With the rich flower beds alternate alleys of grapes, mowed lawns and fruit trees of all kinds and meadows, far intersected by alleys. Rene of France, daughter of Louis XII and wife of Hercules of Ferrara, caused this garden to be arranged, when Montargis was assigned to her as the seat of a widow.

Of unusual extent were the gardens at Blois, to which one passed from the chateau through a concealed passage over the street. The main portion consisted of an area 600 ft. long by 250 ft. wide, surrounded on three sides by a wooden gallery, that ended at a pavilion and a little chapel. In the middle of the garden a domed structure rose over a running fountain. Further at both sides were two other gardens, one with ornamental flower beds surrounding a fountain, the other intersected by alleys of trees and by two shady galleries crossing it at the middle. Du Carreau says:- "There are beautiful and great gardens, differing from each other, some having wide alleys around

them, some covered by carpentry, others by trellises for grape vines.

By a great abundance of water is characterized the plan of chateau Dampierre, where three gardens are all surrounded by canals and wide basins, and connected together by bridges. The middle bed is in the axis of the chateau and is constructed on an island, extending in a triangular point, that is marked by three pavilions. Covered galleries with open arcades connect the pavilions and surround the entire garden. Along the canals extend wide shady alleys with double rows of trees at all sides.

Also the garden of Anet is large and regular with two fountains, and as we have seen, is surrounded on three sides by galleries with arcades, was enclosed by water, which at the extreme end formed a great semicircular fishpond. Here was arranged a bath house, from whose rooms steps led down to the basin. Elsewhere were seen mowed lawns with fruit trees, flower beds, fishponds and dog kennels, all separated by canals and bordered by alleys. Also aviaries and orange trees were not lacking.

Likewise Chenonceaux was distinguished by a rich garden arrangement, in which a developed system of waterworks came into use. At the right of the entrance to the park was seen a rock grotto with cascades surrounded by a water basin. A terrace with flowers enclosed this and further above was placed another terrace, that was covered by leafy alleys, whose enclosing wall was adorned by niches, columns and statues as well as benches for seats. Also for surprise tricks was the water already employed here, for in the middle of the smaller garden was placed an opening closed by a wooden plug. When this was drawn out unseen, a jet of water rose 18 ft. high, "which is a beautiful and pleasing invention", says du Serceau.

But the greatest diversity was shown by the gardens at Gailion according to the embellishments, which cardinal de Bourbon added to the originally very rich plan. Here the hilly site was connected with the various gardens, and care was taken that the view always comprised the lovely valley of the river. At a tolerable distance from the chateau and its gardens, the cardinal had caused to be erected a Carthusian monastery, to which one passed through the park on terraces and through covered and ascending alleys with trees. He came first to a chapel that

was connected with a little dwelling and a hermitage placed on a rock, enclosed by a rectangular basin of water. Beside this lay at one side a little enclosed flower garden with alleys and covered passages. Around the area rose statues three or four feet high on a number of pedestals. On the other side of the hermit's grotto one passed to an extensive basin surrounded by a broad terrace, to the so-called white house, a pleasure house of the most luxurious design surrounded by water. It contained in the ground story a great hall opening by arches, adorned on the closed wall by niches and caryatids as well as statues, besides being animated by three basins with fountains. A stairway at the rear led to the upper story, which was divided into several apartments. A platform with open balustrades afforded a free view of the whole.

Nowhere does the gay life of the Renaissance become so present to us, as when we attempt to restore again these magnificent garden designs from the drawings and descriptions of du Cerceau, and we enliven them by the splendid, intellectual and proud society of those days.

### 32. City dwellings in Orleans.

The erection of the citizens' dwellings in the cities continued in this epoch in the path previously struck out, not merely for the form of plan, but also for the treatment of the facade. The same principles prevail, except that the character of the forms in detail follows the stamp in vogue at this time. From the beginning of the epoch we meet with a number of city residences, whose architecture bears the impress of noble, quiet and classical purity of forms. Gradually then also here the endeavor for simplicity and grandeur leads to severity and even to dryness, in which are mingled also soon certain elements of a capricious and Barocco treatment of details.

Orleans is also still rich in interesting private buildings. We begin with the so-called house of Diane of Poitiers, that bears this name with as much right as the early mentioned house of Agnes Sorel and of Francis I, or rather of the duchess of Etampes. It exhibits that dignified arrangement, which contained in the ground story closed wall masses pierced by a few small windows instead of shops. Likewise the upper stories have large wall surfaces beside the great windows, thereby a

character of earnestness and quiet, of dignified seclusion. In the principal story the windows are enclosed by their frames and a flat arched gable cap. The latter contains a little female bust. Slender Corinthian columns are fluted for two thirds and subdivide this story, while in the upper, short bordering pilasters of the same order are placed at the angles. The middle window of the upper story is circular and enclosed by interlaced cartouches. The plan of the house follows the arrangement usual in Orleans; as always in these narrow buildings, the entrance lies at one side, a passage leads to the stairs and the court, that is here made more spacious and is treated with more stately architecture, than is usually the rule.

To the most attractive buildings then belongs a narrow house located on the poultry market, which is designated as the "house of J. d'Alibert". This prominent leader of the Protestant party of Orleans must have built it, and have held there not the first assemblies of his fellow believers. The facade is narrow, opened in the ground story by the great arched opening of the shop, beside which is the ornamentally enclosed round-arched portal, above it being a charming little coupled window on little columns for lighting the passage in the house and flanked by herms resting on masks at the angles. The two upper stories exhibit fine Corinthian flanking pilasters and great rectangular windows with crossbars. The corridor is expressed in both stories by small arched windows with elegant architraves. The use of masks and foliage scrolls, the borders of interlacing cartouches, the magnificent lions' heads on which rest the pilasters of the second story, indicate the epoch from 1550 to 1560.

There is further to be included here the so-called "pavilion of Joan of Arc", which denotes the transition from the close of the time of Francis I to the epoch of Henry II. It is a pavilion like a tower that adjoins an earlier building as a projecting part. On a plinth of pointed rustication it rises in two stories, above which the high walls indicate that in both were vaulted. Tablet as if for inscriptions is inserted and adorned by festoons and masks, animating the great surfaces. Plain Ionic pilasters effect the division of the masses in the lower, fluted Corinthian in the upper story. In the interior

the tunnel vaults of each story are covered by a sort of arabesques in relief, in which the noble plant life of the earlier arabesques is suppressed by the exuberance of tendency to figures and at the same time by overloading with fanciful elements. That is always the death of the true artistic arabesque style.

Severely and nobly executed in the classical spirit is the so-called house of du Gerceau. Located at a corner of Rue des Hotelleries, it exhibits a compressed and nearly square plan (Fig. 11), that arouses interest by its compendious arrangement. In the ground story is placed a great corner shop, beside which only remains space for a narrow passage. As usual this ends at the winding stairway. A living room with fireplace lies behind the shop, and there even remains room for an indeed scanty court with a well in the corner. A view of the noble pilaster architecture, that subdivides the entire facade, is given in our Fig. 111. We need only add, that all forms are treated with full understanding and in the highest refinement.

As models of an entirely plain but monumental treatment, we mention two houses, that exhibit in the ground story ashlar work at the angles, belts and enclosures of the windows, otherwise are of bricks. One with an interesting development of the shop in the ground story, with high rectangular windows with crosses in the upper stories and with a bold and simple cornice on consoles *à la* No. 3 Rue du Chatelet; the other likewise with a shop is somewhat more stately, and more slender proportions and more richly executed, its forms indicating the later time of the century, and is No. 1 in Rue des Hotelleries.

### 88. City dwellings in the northern provinces.

Normandy also in this epoch has its part in the architectural movement, and although the energy and richness of the earlier epoch is here notably reduced, there are still not wanting certain distinguished examples of the citizens' private architecture. We begin with the magnificent house of E. Duval in Caen, that forms a transition from the epoch of Francis I to that of Henry II. E. Duval was one of those great merchants of the 16th century, who by commerce with the world attained power and wealth, and was strongly affected by the artistic nature of the time, sufficiently to give a monumental expression to his position in life. He was ennobled by Henry II in the year 1549,

and erected for himself a magnificent residence in Caen, in which he died in 1578.

Only a portion of his house remains, still enough to show the importance of the whole. The existing part on the ground story consists of a gallery 15 ft. wide and 34 ft. long, opened at its ends by great arched portals, at one side by three great arches, the middle one higher than the sides. All here to the smallest detail is treated in the classical manner. The arches rest on well profiled piers rising from a common high plinth. Bold Corinthian columns with broken entablature project from them, and an elegant cornice with consoles terminates the ground story.

The upper story contains in its entire extent a great hall, closed at two sides and furnished with two fireplaces, at the two others being an end and a side, opened by arched windows. These are in pairs over the small arches, grouped in threes above the middle and end; in the last the middle window is higher and is flanked by pilasters, while the surface above the side windows is decorated by an imitative balustrade in rather eccentric sportiveness. On the contrary the double windows have a suitable architrave and a common antique cap, on which wonderfully enough appears a reminiscence of Gothic crockets. Likewise the dormers evidence in elevation and ornament, that the architect of this building could not entirely rid himself of the rather dim and confused traditions of Gothic. At the end of the building a rectangular projecting tower crowned by an open lantern contains the winding stairway to the upper story, that one can reach only by means of a balcony projecting on consoles. Corinthian angle pilasters form the angles, in harmony with the columns of the lower and upper stories.

We find the more developed style of the time on a house of Rue Porciere at Rouen, which belongs to the end of the epoch and bears the number 1531 of the year. Like most houses of the mediæval city, it is small and narrow but is high. The ground story entirely opens as a shop in tasteless wooden construction. Also the two upper stories are entirely pierced by windows, of which the two outer ones are rectangular but are enclosed by architraves with segmental arches, while the two inner ones

have no enclosures, but are separated by a pilaster entirely covered by ornaments. Also elsewhere over and under the windows, the already very fantastic Baroque spirit of the end of this period is expressed in masks, cartouches and other ornaments.

From the middle of the 16th century dates a house in Rue du grand cerf in Chartres. According to an inscription on the facade, it was built by Dr. C. Huve, who informed his fellow citizens in Latin, with a small dose of Greek, that he built it with regard to the ornamentation of the city and posterity. The building is small and thereby makes an impression of habitable comfort. Over a wide corridor with cross vaults, that narrows toward the rear to leave space for the stairs, one passes into a court likewise enclosed by the buildings at the rear. To the raised ground story leads a flight of ramp steps. The front part of the house has a larger front room in the ground and the two upper stories, beside which is a chamber next the court adjoining a little cabinet. To this is added in the upper stories also a room lying over the wider part of the lower corridor. The facade of the little building remained unfinished. It begins in a magnificent way with the great portal, that like a triumphal arch is enclosed by fluted Corinthian columns and boldly projecting entablature, with cornice on consoles. Above this on a rich parapet with the tablet for the inscription, rises a great window of the second story, again enclosed by Corinthian columns, that support the entablature with an intricate pediment. In the upper story are caryatid hermes, on whose heads rests the entablature and a boldly profiled arched gable. The wall surfaces exhibit a mixture of bricks and ashlar. The remaining parts of the facade, as the sportive forms of the dwarf pilasters and the much smaller windows --- there are here three full stories on the two upper stories of the new portion, --- show the remains of an older building of the early time of Francis I, to entirely transform which means were indeed wanting. The building is mentioned as already existing in the year 1559.

On the extreme border of this epoch stands a house in Rue des vergeaux at Amiens, which from a figure on its facade has the name of "house of the archer". It was built in the year 1593 by the duke of Mayenne, general of the league, whose arms it bears. To



The facade is so richly covered by ornaments, that it competes with the most luxuriant creations of the early Renaissance, and although the scale of the separate forms is not in proportion to the modest dimensions of the whole, this richness makes an attractive impression. Hence the master of this work did not avoid caprice nor naturalism in the ornaments, he has rejected the proper Barocco, i.e., the scroll work of the cartouches. He seems to have drawn his inspiration from the works of the earlier epoch. That is true, even if as probable, we take the great pointed arch, in which the ground story opens with its shop, as the remains of an earlier design. Meanwhile the architrave of this arch is ornamented by elegant flutes in the finest Renaissance taste. Seated reliefs of forms of female virtues, entirely enclosed by emblems and foliage, fill the great surfaces of the spandrels, and at the angles fluted Doric pilasters form the enclosures. Not entirely in the Gothic sense even if also in antique forms, are treated the canopies of the little statue niches between the arches. The two upper stories exhibit depressed proportions and broad, low windows with flat arches, Ionic pilasters in the first story and Corinthian in the second, all fluted, with magnificent scroll and leaf ornament on the friezes and in broad masses over the windows, the latter further surrounded by extremely elegant sculptured members, and the uppermost windows are crowned by broken gables, the whole of a more lavish and noble luxuriance.

There must also the gate MontreAeau of the year 1531 be emphasized as a certainly mutilated, though charming structure of the early time, which in two stories is adorned by elegant decorated enclosing pilasters and by numerous salamanders as evidences of the time of its origin.

Bold and animated, full of originality is the little facade of mansion de Valuisant at Troyes, which was built in 1564 by a rich citizen, A. Hennequin. Two round towers flank it, between which a stately double flight of steps leads up to the raised ground story. Pilasters subdivide the surfaces, and a gallery with balustrade terminates the building. In the dormers with their caps are still noted Gothic reminiscences, indeed in stronger caprice. In the ground story lies a great with magnificent fireplace decorated by Corinthian pilasters

and painted wooden paneling.

A stately building from the beginning of this epoch is then the house of the family Feret de Montlaurent at Rheims, built by H. Feret under the reign of Henry II. It has a magnificent court with arcades on coupled columns, between the arches being niches with statues. The windows are rectangular and are divided by cross bars.

#### 84. City buildings in the northeast provinces.

In the northeast part of France, that in great part originally belonged to Flanders and only came late to France, there prevailed a treatment of the Renaissance forms, that in its dry freedom does not allow the Flanders stamp to be mistaken. Of such a kind is the Balley at Aire, a charming little building surrounded at two sides by porticos on slender columns, over which are Flanders' high upper stories in brock and cut stone, with ogee pointed blind arches above the windows in spite of the date of 1595, and as a termination of the facade is a rich balustrade with luxuriant reliefs. A polygonal angle balcony lends to the building a special charm.

There especially belongs here the new wing, which the city of Arras added to its city hall after 1578. The city was flourishing by commerce and industry, was particularly famous for its artistic fabrics, and had restored since the beginning of the century (1501-2554) its city hall in Gothic style. After a short time necessity demanded an enlargement, the master M. Tesson was entrusted with the erection of the new wing. The architect did not intend to bring his work into harmony with the older, but to compete with that in splendor and state.

The new wing consists of a facade of three wide window systems, that were separated by coupled columns from each other. (Fig. 111). In the ground story are Doric of that ugly form, which composed the shaft of alternately plain drums and of bosses. Likewise the wide triply divided windows with cross mullions in the ground story enclosed by separate rusticated ashlar. This treatment belongs more to the Flemish-German than to the French school. The columns project strongly on projecting bases, and support a broken entablature with a double frieze.

In splendid richness over this rises the second story, sub-

subdivided by coupled Corinthian columns whose lower part is decorated by masks, hermes, flowers and scroll work, while the upper portion shows fine flutes. Extremely magnificent is the frieze adorned by rosettes, masks and lions' heads in ornamental medallions; likewise on the base and the entire parapet are employed human and animal heads, and over the broad triple windows extend scrolls and leaves as a light crowning.

The uppermost story is in the same spirit, only somewhat more modestly decorated, but its original character is injured, as the spirally fluted columns that covered it have been removed. An attic with masks in boldly profiled medallions forms the termination. In spite of the strongly Barocco elements, this work is preferably distinguished by the almost overflowing energy of the treatment.

A later follower with a strong Barocco coloring is the exchange at Lille, built in 1651 by master J. Destre. The dry rusticated pilasters alternate with hermes and give the two upper stories the powerful stamp, while the high roof with its mansards, certainly like the ground story is no longer than its original conception, but effectively crowns the whole. The court has in the ground story a stately Doric colonnade, above this being a single story characterized by high windows.

### 35. City dwellings in the southern provinces.

In Languedoc, where already in the preceding epoch we found an architectural activity, though not extensive, yet splendid in details, there also occur several important buildings.

We first mention the stately mansion d'Assezat at Toulouse, that still stands on the border of the preceding epoch and bears the number 1555 of the year. It is a brick building with members in rich cut stone. It must apparently have been built by Primaticcio for queen Margaret, that however is referred to an unfounded tradition. Three stories with coupled columns, Doric below and Corinthian in the two upper stories, divide the facade in a pompous manner of the high Renaissance. (Fig. 113). The windows of the two lower stories have crossbars, but the latter are strengthened by projecting volutes with fine acanthus leaves, and are enclosed by a round arch, and truly fortissimo ornamentation, that in the best harmony with the rest, makes a sort of tipsy impression. The upper story has that triply

divided window, horizontal at the sides and round arched at the middle, which plays a part in upper Italy. The mansion consists of a main building with two wings, in whose reentrant angle at the right rises a rectangular stone tower. The left wing has but one story with a stately flight of steps. at the right side in the depth of the court is arranged a rectangular tower with circular stairs, perhaps a remnant of an earlier building. We finally mention, that the windows of the ground story have caps already tending to Barocco forms, and that the portal is enclosed by spirally twisted columns, rather rich than pure.

Here further belongs the palace of the capitol of the same city, magnificent though also somewhat Barocco, although always still massive and earnest. An extremely rich portal with victories over the arches, luxuriously enclosed by doubled pilasters and half columns of the Ionic style, supports a convex frieze, above which are added figures of resting sphynxes and of fettered slaves, with a similar system of Corinthian pilasters above them. Between them opens a niche with a statue of Henry IV. The building was begun under Henry II and was probably but completed under that prince. The architecture of the court likewise belongs to an earlier time than that of the facade and indicates an architecture, that knew antique forms but superficially, as if by hearsay. Wonderfully enough a system of shorter Doric pilasters is intersected by slender Corinthian columns. Also singular are the three low attic stories decorated by heads of cherubim and leaf scrolls, by which the entire upper wall is divided toilsomely. The portal that opens into the court exhibits elegant forms, not so conservatively treated as the outer portal. In the interior the so-called hall of the little consistory is characterized by an ornamental net vault on Renaissance consoles and by painted arabesques on the walls. Besides a magnificent fireplace, enclosed below by coupled Ionic columns and above by coupled female hermes, it has at the middle a relief with equestrian figure, above which is a termination, a broken gable with genii and arms with crowned helmet.

Still more luxuriantly is developed this southern style in mansion Catelan in the same city. The portal is flanked by coupled Corinthian columns with fluted shafts; above are caryatids

and fanciful ogee additions, where occur all sorts of Barocco elements, namely prisms and other geometrical figures and colored marble slabs, inlaid in the entablature, attic and other surfaces.

On the whole the impression is very much overloaded. The interior does not offer much, since space and means were wanting for a more stately court. One first enters a narrow passage court, that exhibits a modest architecture with pilasters. All higher architectural treatment is lacking in the second and larger court; pretty is only a little round projecting stair tower, resting on the elegant corbel with festoons supported by cupids.

But the greatest masterpiece of this style is the so-called "mansion of stone" in the same street and not far from the church of Dalbado. Here the facade is already a work of important, indeed one may say of unusual cost, pompous and overloaded, but as a composition heavy and almost disagreeable. Here occurs the boastful system of the later Renaissance with a single system of colossal columns or pilasters --- here are gigantic Corinthian pilasters with fluted shafts --- to lend the facade a certain grandeur of expression. But while over the capitals by the broken entablature and a great frieze with consoles is obtained space for an upper story, there is more missed a perceptible substructure, and if it be also no less than Palladio used, who gave the example of this arrangement, it remains thereby no less objectionable. A consequence of this was the inorganic arrangement of the great double portal, that with its projecting columns and widely projecting broken cornice awkwardly intersects the colossal pilaster order. Moreover all is done on this pompous facade, that might corrupt the judgement, for all surfaces are overloaded in lavish luxuriance by an ornamentation of strong plant forms, and even the great pilasters have received at the height of the ground story a covering of festoons of flowers and fruits, trophies, emblems and masks, that is composed in the strangest fortissimo of this style. Even the stone window mullions, arranged in cross form in the principal story, are lost in decoration. Particularly magnificent are the arms above the two portals, supported by pairs of elegant female figures; all this like the entire ornamentation

is executed with greater virtuosity. But that the architect of this facade was rather a brilliant decorator than a strong composer is also proved by the heavy manner, in which above the widely projecting main cornice he terminates the whole by a series of angular and curved gables. Finally also a remark on the form of the portals; instead of being covered by an arch they have a broken polygonal covering, a proof how eager one was there for the new and unusual.

In the interior is found the nearly square court with wide and very stately arcades in front and at the left; but the proportions suffer by a certain heaviness and the forms of the Ionic pilasters, as well as the rich ornamentation in Barocco extravagance. The surfaces are here also constructed of brick. In the wing lying at the rear a magnificent barocco portal opens at the middle, flanked by mighty hermes, whose legs are enclosed in those wonderful cases, which were a favorite in the French architecture of that time. As the date of erection of the still imposing palace is given the year 1612.

Particularly fantastic in form in this architectural style in the house of the nurses at Warbarne. The facade must be designated as one of the rare examples, in which architecture falls into the witty and the comic. A coupled window is flanked by female hermes, that with inconceivable fullness bear true and magnificent examples of mothers' breasts swelling strongly for show, and extend downward in swelled and almost Hindoo forms, richly adorned by the acanthus. The same forms are repeated in a still greater scale on consoles as a second enclosure of the windows, combined with a richly decorated frieze with consoles, whose intervals exhibit lions' heads with rings, from which hang wreaths of flowers. The elegant architrave forms the upper termination, together with a frieze with acanthus leaves and a richly ornamented cornice with dentils.

The same incomparably magnificent cornice with consoles and similar splendid development of the windows, only without the mother caryatides is found in the house of chevaliers at Viviers. Above an entirely bare ground story rise two upper stories with a smaller half story as termination. The windows divided by cross bars are flanked by projecting Ionic and Corinthian columns, over which a frieze with consoles and adorned by the

acanthus forms the crowning as at Narbonne. The preference for this splendid form became so great here, that beneath the windows of the second story were arranged similar great decorated consoles with medallions with busts in high relief in the intervals, in the middle being placed arms with crowned helmet. Between the two principal stories extends a relief frieze with combats of horsemen, and above the upper story is graceful foliage scroll work. Even the little windows of the upper story have their frieze with consoles and Corinthian columns, where also occur caryatids and hermes, and to exhaust all forms are spirally twisted columns. The crowning cornice is composed of three corbelled rows of round arches in a rather dry way. The building was built about 1550 by Noel of St. Albans, who appeared as leader of the Huguenots in the civil wars, and found death by the hand of the hangman.

## Chapter VIII. Secular architecture under Henry IV and Louis XIII.

### 36. Further transformation of architecture.

So entirely were the last decades of the 16th century filled by division into parties and by civil war, that art could not freely develop. Even by the accession of Henry IV to the throne (1589) the condition of disquiet was not ended for a long time, and only in 1598 with the peace of Vervins and the edict of Nantes did the land breathe again after such long tumults. But the public conditions were so deeply unsettled, the financial poverty was so oppressive, commerce and traffic so paralyzed, that greater quiet and continuous energy were required to heal such severe injuries. Such times were not suited to produce that free harmony from which could arise the noble flower of art. Therefore if one compares the reign of Henry IV with the times of Francis I and even of Henry II, then he acquires the impression of an earnest man's years filled by work and care, that followed the joyful days of youth with their pleasure in the varied plays of imagination. Understanding and discretion now have the supremacy, and while Sully establishes the finances again, while the king endeavors with all zeal to elevate the condition of the citizens, and promote commerce and industry, the beautiful must retreat behind the useful. Architecture has to solve those important problems, but these belong more to the latter than the former domain. It is chiefly the construction of roads and canals that busies the king; it is by the correction of entire places and city quarters to give the citizens of the capital light and air, to care for their wellbeing and wealth. These are the aims now placed in the first line for architecture. We indeed have to recognize therein an advance in the history of civilization, even if the higher esthetic solution of this problem remains still far distant.

With such endeavors arising for the commonweal, the building of chateaus as the artistic ennobled expression of egotistic tendencies passed more into the background. More extensive undertakings of this kind under Henry IV were only devoted to the continuance of the Louvre and the chateau of Fontainebleau, as well as to the new plans at St. Germain. In these works is



noted partly an adherence to the tendency of the preceding epoch, but there partly developed from the already existing earlier germs of a beginning of a new mode of treatment. The foundation of this is based in a certain severity and monotony, a cool reflection, as natural for such an intelligent and practical epoch. Most characteristic for this tendency is the massive adoption of brickwork, that in the foregoing epochs still only formed an exception to the rule. But henceforth it penetrated into even the most important buildings, yet now without an artistic development, or attaining anything analogous to the north German or the brick architecture of upper Italy. Rather now they retained the combination with cut stone, and every characteristic form, the angles, enclosures of windows and belts were executed in ashlar. These buildings with their heavy members and dark masses indeed make a sound and massive, but also often a gloomy and morose impression. But the ashlar work itself chiefly assumes the character of rustication, with even more generally than in the preceding epoch appears and also takes into its domain the pilaster and columnar orders. In combination therewith all forms are more dry in form, the arabesques and lighter ornaments are supplanted by heavy cartouches, but especially the finer and richer arrangements of the Gothic and still more the Corinthian style are omitted in favor of a monotonous Doricism. It is remarkable, that the Renaissance everywhere, in Italy as in other countries, recedes in the same way from the rich and ornamental to the monotonous and dry, while the antique Roman art, as well as the Greek before it, developed in the opposed direction. It appears just as characteristic that, while the early Renaissance was so much devoted to the <sup>little</sup> ~~little~~ and the ornamental, that this tendency even went too far in regard to the great, and now the tendency to the great was reversed and the important and weighty assumed supremacy, so that even where the <sup>public</sup> ~~little~~ and ornamental were in place, these were transformed into heavy and swelled forms.

However where men strive for the expression of richness and magnificence, this occurred by dry heaping and Barocco transformation of the members, whereby broken cornices, broken and curved gables, intricate cartouches work, play a chief part. But particularly extensive use is made of all sorts of affect<sup>ed</sup>

decorations with which rustication was treated. It was often covered in its entire extent by that play of lines like interlaced worms, to which were added various richer ornaments, foliage and especially laurel branches, even with emblems of all kinds. In the place of a clear and effective relief membering in such cases, there also appears a purely picturesque ornamentation, indeed produced by means of sculpture.

On the contrary if a thorough architectural subdivision is obtained, then men aim at the same endeavor for greatness and "majesty", which had already produced the colossal orders in the preceding epoch. As a rule also a colossal order of pilasters is employed for two stories as a characteristic.

For the general arrangement of the buildings men also now adhere to the main lines, that had developed from the national customs and opinions, excepting that sometimes more freedom was permitted to Italian influence. Meanwhile the high roofs with their gables and chimney caps, as well as the pavilions and the picturesque grouping of the buildings produced thereby could not be omitted.

The style here briefly described remains also in force during the reign of Louis XIII, but gradually adopts the elements of a severe and also more refined classicism. Particularly is this true of the internal decoration of the rooms, where the wild overloading, that had spread from the school of Fontainebleau since 1550, gave way for a more massive treatment and more elegant subdivision. Paintings inserted in sculptured frames, also indeed that added a pilaster order, then came into general use and is aided by the richly carved wooden ceilings, always treated with virtuosity, and whose panels likewise exhibit paintings. These decorations contain the germ from which were to be developed in a consistent advance the style of the time, of Louis XIV. Decisive for this mode of treatment becomes the fact that in the meantime a national school of important painters had been formed, whose most famous representatives like S. Vouet, N. Poussin, P. Champaigne, E. le Sueur, C. le Brun, competed in the ornamentation of these show apartments.

Under this strong current now disappear the last vestiges of romantic chivalry and feudal autocracy. The powerful hand of Richelieu overthrows the great of the country and thereby ends

the few reminiscences, that still recalled the middle ages. The French circle of distinguished men now first receives its modern character and becomes an intellectual society of the salons. Thereby also vanish in the designs of the chateaus the last remaining feudal reminiscences; the towers and even generally the pavilions, the moats with their drawbridges, the projecting staircases with their winding stairs, instead of which stairs with straight flights are arranged and are included within the interior. Also in the arrangement and connection of the rooms predominate the private and habitable character, indicating a society, more devoted to the interests of peace, of art and literature, than to the rude contests of the hunt and of war. Even such an apparently slight circumstance, that now the stone crossbars so long dominating the windows were exchanged for a wooden framework, is characteristic of the new spirit, which entered into architecture.

### 37. Works on the Louvre.

To the first undertakings of Henry IV, after he had come into possession of Paris, belongs the further extension of the Louvre. The king desired thereby not merely to provide permanent employment for the artists and mechanics, but also for his own safety, that always lay very near in those ever unquiet times. Therefore he caused the already begun gallery for connecting the Louvre and Tuileries to be energetically undertaken anew and completed; and since the Tuileries was then still outside the city and separated from it by a wall and moat, he must hope by a covered connection with it to establish a safe line of retreat for extreme needs.

Under these points of view one must first seek to join the buildings executed under Catherine de Medici. The smaller gallery (4 on the plan, Fig. 85), which before then consisted only of a ground story with a terrace, was raised by one story. The long gallery (7), that likewise had formed only a ground story, received an upper story and also a mezzanine story to equalize the height. But at the same time in harmony with the upper parts the lower ones were also furnished with the decoration which they still exhibit (Fig. 114).

On these works evidently the view prevailed, to make them approximate as nearly as possible to the character of Desot's

inner facades, and at the same time to recall by certain principal forms the Tuileries of de l'Orme. The last is especially true of the pilaster system of the ground story, which is combined with freely projecting columns at the prominent parts. This is the "French" order of de l'Orme in the full ornamental splendor and charm of treatment, as it was already found on the principal building of the Tuileries. The richly decorated rustication, which is connected therewith, corresponds to the artistic endeavor in the epoch in question. A luxuriant frieze with foliage, emblems and genii (Fig. 39) forms the termination of the ground story.

Still richer and more elegant are executed the two upper stories. The windows of the mezzanine have fine pilasters, the wall panels between them have gracefully treated frames. A frieze with luxurious leaf scrolls beneath a bold cornice slab also terminates this half story as independent. Then follows the main story with its great windows, that lie so far apart, that not merely for double pilasters, but alternating with the windows still remains sufficient space for niches with statues. Thereby as well as by alternating angular and curved pediments that crown this system of windows, the elongated building produces the impression of rhythmic movement and beautiful diversity, all monotony being most happily averted. To us this facade with its finely treated Corinthian pilasters, the group of trophies between them, the rich fringes with sculptured leaves and the sculptures in the gables, appears as one of the most successful compositions of the French Renaissance.

This arrangement also finds an echo in the treatment of the adjacent pavilion (6) and the adjoining portal Ludigueres. From thence begins the western half of the gallery denoted by (11) in our plan of Fig. 35, which with the part joining the Tuileries (10) produces the connection with the latter. If these parts are compared with those described above, one would scarcely believe, that both belong to the same time. And yet the latter like the former were executed under Henry IV. If we knew something more accurately of the artists, who were there employed, we should have a starting point for explaining this striking contrast. The architect of the western gallery has indeed freed himself from the arrangement that dominates

the other parts of the Louvre like the Tailorier, and instead of the smaller independent orders for each story, has chosen a single colossal pilaster order for the decoration of his façades. Each pair of fluted Corinthian pilasters stands on a high stylobate and rise to the cornice, where they are connected by a heavy entablature. Heavy gables are alternately angular or circular and are filled by trophies to form the crowning. This is the only motive borrowed from the eastern part, but by the heavy proportions produces ugliness. Likewise not beautiful must be termed, that the great windows of the upper story carelessly intersect the entablature and directly abut against the crowning cornice. The striving for grandeur has not merely misled the architect thus into an innately false decoration, but also to ugly proportions and a likewise monotonous as well as a heavy treatment, which further also bears the stamp of a tedious monotony. If he would avoid this, he must before all create by effective grouping an animated rhythm.

The question concerning the originator of these parts cannot be answered with certainty. That Baptiste de Cerceau was the execution of Henry IV is established. Since he was no longer living in 1602, he was succeeded by his brother Jacques, who was employed till 1614, thus still for some years under Louis XIII. It is probable that both worked on the Louvre galleries; but which parts are to be attributed to one and which to the other can scarcely be ascertained. But further two members of the Vetezau family are also designated as architects of the king in the same epoch, and old traditions would likewise prove their participation on the Louvre galleries. There is T. Motezau, who however was no longer living in 1596, and had his son L. Motezau as successor on the building of the Louvre, who died in 1615. But also of these artists we know nothing more exact concerning their part in the work. Yet probably we may attribute one half to the two Motezaus, the other to the two Cerceaus. But which half is doubtful.

Under Louis XIII the building remained dormant for a long time, till Richelieu again undertook it. But men turned now to the still unfinished building of Lescoot, and the skilful architect Lemercier was entrusted with the execution in 1624. But to transform the work in accordance with the requirements changed

in the meantime, the plan of Lescot was enlarged about fourfold, the northern corner pavilion (clock) was made the middle of the western facade that was twice as long, and there were executed the parts of the western and northern wings denoted by (12) on our plan. The merit of Lemercier is that thereby the arrangement and decoration of Lescot's building were retained, and for the court of the Louvre was preserved as a result its artistic harmony. The upper termination of the pavilion by the caryatids, that support three pediments over each other, and with the high domed roof are not blameless, but are yet always to be acknowledged in relation to the caprice of the art taste of the time. For it is not to be denied, that the caryatids, the prized works of the talented sculptor Sarrazin, are indeed conceived somewhat too picturesquely, but in comparison to so many fantastic barocco creations of the period, are yet always to be designated as moderate, noble and graceful.

In place of Lemercier appeared under Louis XIV after 1660 Leveau, who began the other facades of the court (13) and again restored the gallery of Apollo destroyed by fire. At the same time he completed pavilion Marsan and therewith the north wing of the Tuileries (14). Then was erected after 1665 and according to Perrault's plan the east side (15) with the colossal portico, that was added inharmoniously to the rest, but flattered the love of Louis XIV for the majestic. After these works the Louvre fell into decay, as it was yet unfinished, sharing the fate of royalty, and when the latter fell, the mighty building looked like a fallen ruin. Napoleon first caused the palace to be again restored and further constructed by Percier and Fontaine. The western half of the north gallery, which joins the Tuileries (16) and the portion at the same side adjoining the Louvre and intended for a chapel (16) originated at this time. The termination was made recently by the parts erected under the second empire (13). The designs of Visconti unfortunately then suffered great alterations, and all was executed in an exaggerated and quack's style, which seems to be the expression corresponding to the business circle in 1868 dominating France.

### 33. Works in Fontainebleau.

More than on the Louvre, where a regard to the earlier parts

dominated the later constructions, may be recognized the character of the epoch of Henry IV on the buildings, which he added to the chateau of Fontainebleau. Here first belong the parts designated by H on the general plan (Fig. 86). Surrounding in three wings a great court, these buildings are intended for a subordinate service purposes and accordingly bear the stamp of severe simplicity, that in the spirit of the time is not expressed without monotony. The combination of brickwork with ash-lars, the plain and even stumpy enclosures of windows and doorways, the absence of all refined or more animated forms gives these buildings a dry expression, although the whole makes a dignified and substantial effect by the skilful proportions and the happy subdivision of the masses, especially supported by the pavilions at the principal points. The great semicircular niches that cut into the main facade at the middle also contribute to this (Fig. 115). In any case these parts belong to the models, which men then understood under the rural character of the time.

On the contrary greater magnificence was developed on the portal, which under the name of "baptistery of Louis XIII" closes the oval court of the chateau at the eastern side. Its name was received because the baptism of the dauphin occurred in its domed upper story. The building has the imposing form of a triumphal arch, yet in an entirely free and original composition. A wide arch opens at the middle, flanked at the sides by niches, which are enclosed by short pilasters with fanciful capitals like Corinthian. Over the niches are placed medallions with busts, enclosed by heavy garlands of foliage. The forms seek to follow the much varied examples of the early Renaissance, but the dry members and the luxuriant crisped foliage plainly indicate the late time. Over the middle building then rises an arched structure open on the sides and covered by an ogee domed roof. This form is not free from Baroque caprice, but the whole still makes a fine impression and gives the court an imposing termination.

Furthermore under Henry IV were added the gallery of the stag and the gallery of Diana lying over it, the former of these being transformed into living apartments under Louis XV. These parts (Fig. 116) very decidedly bear the stamp of this epoch

by the dry forms and the mixture of brickwork with ashlar. Yet also here the treatment shows the rule of an energetic and conscious artistic spirit. To the baroque wonders belong the occasionally diminished pilasters of the upper story with their volute capitals, from which hangs a festoon of leaves; but especially the broken window gable and the fantastic volutes, that enclose the middle window. As architect of these new parts is mentioned E. Duperac of Bordeaux, who had made his studies in Italy, and like du Corréau himself used the graver. Besides a number of separate plates by him, we possess a work on the antiquities of Rome and picturesque views of the gardens of Tivoli, as well as representations of St. Peter's church and of the Roman capitol. He was at the same time a painter and had not only executed paintings for the bath room at Fontainebleau, but probably also the decorations of the galleries mentioned. Besides there was by him the gallery of the stag, which opened by an arched passage of about 120 ft. long opposite the gallery of Diana, and was painted with landscapes and hunting scenes. This gallery was later destroyed. Finally there belong to the works of this time the rebuilding of the magnificent decoration of the chapel of the Trinity, whose ornamentation was carried out in a tolerably pure classicism. On these paintings was chiefly employed Freminet, a master then esteemed.

Finally under Louis XIII was built by Lamercier the famous horseshoe steps that formed the main entrance from the great outer court into the middle building. Present opinions little esteem this picturesque baroque arrangement of steps. However they develop a perspective charm in their grand effect, of which our aesthetics never dreams.

### 39. Buildings for public purposes.

Under Henry IV was expressed for the first time in France the endeavor of the Renaissance to develop in its greatest extent the law of symmetry and regularity in the arrangement of streets and squares, and even of entire quarters of cities. In important dimensions Henry brought this idea into existence at Place royale. The construction began in 1605 and was completed in 1612, two years after the king's death. There formerly stood on this Place mansion des Tournelles, which Catherine de Medici caused to be destroyed after the death of her husband. The place



formed a broad rectangle surrounded by regular buildings, that opened by 144 arches in the ground story. A railed lawn surrounded by groups of trees, two fountains and the equestrian statue of Louis XIII erected recently instead of the old statue destroyed in the Revolution, occupies the middle of the Place. The architecture is a combination of bricks and ashlars, making a severe and gloomy impression, that is even increased by the 35 high pavilions into which the mass of the roofs is broken. Beauty here recedes behind the rule of care suitability, but the latter is emphasized in a vigorous way, so that the whole in its way with all its severity acquires the stamp of clear propriety and fitness.

The second creation of this kind is Place Dauphine, placed in 1603 on two former islands of the city. The buildings bear the same character, that results from the combination of brickwork and ashlars. But the impression is here somewhat stronger and more monotonous, and the use of rustication is even more prominent than on Place royale. The Place forms the actual point of the island and has a triangular form.

Grandier was to be a third Place, that should extend as Place de France instead of a marsh, and should terminate these undertakings for beautifying and improving the city. This Place was described as a half moon in a great circle, whose diameter was to extend from the Bastille to Rue de Temple. Eight principal streets were to radiate from here and bear the names of the chief provinces of France, while to the connecting streets were assigned the names of the inferior French provinces. Between the main streets each of the seven masses of buildings was to rise above the ground story with arches in two stories of bricks and ashlars, each covered by a high roof as a separate pavilion. The plan for this grand arrangement was already decided, when the murder of the king put an end to this like so many other plans.

Of the numerous other structures for public uses we emphasize the completion of bridge Pont Neuf whose construction the king caused to be executed from 1602 to 1607. With this was connected the lengthening of the island of the city on the western side, which was effected by the connection of two smaller islands. The bridge thereby joined the Cité and was divided into two separate parts. Further the king caused the water conduits

from Belleville and Pres S. Gervais to be restored, which supplied the northern part of Paris with water; he also restored the fountains fed by these and erected a number of new ones. Likewise different quays were rebuilt and the walls and gates of the city were improved.

It is characteristic that this period of the citizens and of the people was the first of the monarchs of France, that caused to be erected structures for public use and not merely magnificent works for his own pleasure. In proportion to the brief time of his reign allowed to him, the number and importance of those erected by him must be termed important.

#### 90. Palace of Luxemburg.

After the death of Henry IV, Maria de Medici appeared as patroness of the arts, and this love of art was an inheritance from her father's family, and was perhaps caused to be forgotten by the repugnant character of this intriguing and imperious Florentine, even if in her relations to art a cooling and frosty air had not penetrated. Frosty in a high degree is also then the principal work, that architecture produced at her instigation. In the year 1612 she purchased the mansion and garden of the duke of Luxemburg, as well as several adjoining pieces of ground, and there in 1615 caused to be erected for herself by S. de Brosse, a nephew of the younger J. A. du Cerceau, the existing palace which yet remains. In the strikingly brief time of five years the entire building was completed, and in 1620 could Rubens be called to execute his famous paintings for the gallery.

Of the master of the building we only know that he was born at Vernueil, yet without giving the year of his birth. It may be conjectured, that according to the custom of the time, he had made his studies in Italy. At least his work itself indicates this, for the architecture of it recalls Ammannati's court of Palazzo Pitti at Florence, excepting that there single and here coupled pilasters divide the surfaces. Otherwise the frequently asserted similarity of the Luxemburg with palace Pitti is a myth. The plan rather shows an entirely French scheme, and likewise in the elevation the high roofs and the dominating pavilions.

Already in the arrangement of the ground plan and entirely

corresponding to the French custom is a nearly square court, enclosed by galleries on three sides, and separating the main building from the street. In the middle of the external wing, that only consists of a ground story and a terrace, rises a two story portal building of stately effect, crowned by a dome.

At both angles this front building is flanked by pavilions with steep roofs, carried above the great story by two upper stories. The two side wings of the court, that adjoin the pavilions, consist of a ground and one upper story, which contain a gallery 18 ft. wide and 180 ft. long. The gallery lying on the right was adorned by the great paintings of Rubens, which were later transferred to the museum of the Louvre. The main building terminates the court in two stories over a ground story, but at the ends project two great pavilions both toward the court and the garden, that only rise somewhat above the main building, so that the upper story is rather lower than the other parts of the building, and extends some 6 ft. higher. The projections of the pavilions toward the court were originally connected by a beautiful terrace enclosed by a balustrade, to which a semicircular flight of steps leads at the middle. The centre of the main building is occupied by a smaller pavilion, that contains the grand stairway rising with a double flight. At the rear a semicircular vestibule projects to the garden, containing the chapel in the principal story and crowned by a domical structure. At each side is a gallery for connecting the angle pavilions.

If this arrangement in its clarity and dignity is to be designated as the model of palace architecture, the architect has caused an almost solemn quiet to prevail in the artistic elevation, so that on all sides and in every part of the building the same arrangement subdivides the masses. Coupled pilasters are Tuscan in the ground story, Doric with triglyph frieze in the second and Ionic in the third, and extend over the entire building with strict consistency. Then the pilasters like the wall surfaces are rusticated, but not in that sportive ornamentation of the gallery of the Louvre and the Tuilleries, but in dry plainness that rejects all decoration. Only on the middle buildings that contain the entrances occur orders of columns; Plant ornament is nowhere, statues are used with the greatest

economy, chiefly on the pediments of the angle pavilions. It is striking that the architect has erected the garden side in the same earnest style as the city side, and with his manifest endeavors for complete unity, even for uniformity.

Without question this insipid conception makes a rather cold impression; it is an architecture that only affects the intelligence and not the imagination. Such a design is based on this, that we know the Renaissance period in the rustication, and believe that the Doric style is found as an expression of the rural. But these limits of the conception and the more reflective than fanciful talent being once granted, one must admit that a more important and true artist is he that created this work, and who in a time that cherished caprice in Barocco excesses, and knew how to adhere to such purity and severity of style.

The charm of the design may however first be judged, when the incomparably beautiful garden is recalled, which unfortunately a few years since was nearly destroyed by the never satisfied love of change in the French. The flower beds with their basins, fountains and statues, enclosed by mighty groups of trees, the beautiful combination existing between the garden and the architecture, producing an animated alternation, all this gave first the completion of the whole. The grotto design at the left side of the park is characteristic of that rustication passing into natural growth, which the Renaissance loved to employ for such purposes.

#### 91. Other works of de Brosse.

Several years before the erection of his principal building, de Brosse who was himself a Huguenot, erected the house of prayer of the Protestants, for the building of which permission had been granted at Charenton by Henry IV. It was begun in 1606, but was destroyed in 1685 after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The building must have presented particular interest, for the architect there had the model of the antique basilica in mind, and erected the building as a colossal rectangle surrounded on all sides by three galleries. The lower colonnade followed the Tuscan, the second the Doric, and the upper one the Ionic order. Three portals permitted access and 31 windows gave abundant light to the room. The interior like the exterior in Protestant simplicity was restrained from all

ornament and exhibited the same monotonous severity, that forms the general character of the buildings of that time. Therefore this plain treatment was no offense to contemporaries, and de Brosse earned general by so grand and suitable construction.

Meanwhile that he also understood how to execute richer compositions, he proved on the facade of S. Gervais, for wh on Louis XIII laid the corner stone on July 24, 1616. Without regard to the Gothic character of the building, he placed the facade as an independent piece of decoration before the building and adorned it by three antique orders of columns. It was the first example of this use of classical architecture in France, and therefore this facade long continued in high respect.

Some years earlier in 1613, de Brosse had his opportunity to erect one of the greatest utility structures. The entire southern half of the capital already had long lacked a sufficient supply of good water for drinking, and therefore Henry IV had planned to restore the aqueduct of Arcueil dating from the Renaissance. The dagger of Ravallac had also not allowed this plan to come to execution, and the people of Paris must still have long been deprived of the benefit of fresh drinking water, unless palace Luxemburg had shared the same need for this water works. Hence the cause caused in 1613 de Brosse again to undertake the plan had to restore the great work of the Romans. The Roman conduit chiefly had to supply the baths, brought for a distance of 10 miles water from Rangis to Paris. destroyed by the Normans, and abandoned to ruin for centuries, it still existed as ruins in separate places, so that the work of de Brosse cannot be termed an entirely new creation. He impressed on it that character of massive grandeur, which characterized the Roman buildings of this kind. The aqueduct crossed the valley of arcueil on 25 arches at a height of 272 ft., and thus belongs to the boldest constructions of the kind. The work was completed in 1624 and gave opportunity for the erection of numerous fountains in the southern part of the city.

Finally de Brosse had to restore the great hall of the palace of justice at Paris, destroyed in March of 1613 by a fire. Retaining the old foundations, he adhered to the two aisled plan of the earlier hall, without the least regard to the style of the other parts. He gave to the hall stone round-arched vaults,

that formerly had a wooden ceiling in the form of a Gothic tunnel vault, and these rested on a row of middle piers. The latter received a decoration by Doric pilasters. Two wide semicircular windows with two round windows over them in the ends gave abundant light to the room. The architecture is not without a dignity, but still has a cold monotony. Like the other creations, it shows that de Brosse belongs to those architects, who became prominent more by reflection and rational conceptions than by imagination.

## 92. Private chateaus of this time.

From the rather important series of chateaus, that were erected during the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, we emphasize some peculiarly characteristic, in order to represent by them the further development of the French chateau architecture.

As a common basis is to be retained, that always still the national customs connected with the traditions of the earlier epoch are determinative in these designs, that the distribution of the rooms, the arrangement of the stairways, the regular grouping about a rectangular court, form the fixed standard. Especially characteristic is it for the general appearance of these buildings, that indeed after the Italian manner then strove more for quiet and simplicity of lines, but in the beginning of the epoch they firmly adhered by preference to the angle pavilions and thereby to the picturesque division of the masses, and that even round towers and moats with drawbridges in nowise entirely vanished from the programme of the building. On the contrary the great galleries, the pride of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, are now adopted, and the life of the occupants of the chateau retires as more intimate into comfortable chambers and halls.

For the artistic characteristics, there may be distinguished two entirely different and opposed types. One is based on an almost intentionally removal from show, a simplicity often carried to an extreme degree, that knows nothing but the plainest combination of brickwork and rusticated ashlars, with a dryness of profile that often leads to stumpy weariness. The other assumes the same ground elements, but knows how to obtain a richer ornamental effect, that indeed as a rule inclines to Baroque forms and to luxuriant overloading. In both cases the lack of an artistic development must be compensated by the truly nation-

national and often really original stamp.

Characteristic examples of both types are offered by chateau Tanlay in Burgundy in its different buildings. The main building was commenced in 1559 by F. de Coligny, brother of the famous admiral, but only a round tower with the adjacent parts of the two wings was completed. A new owner, J. Chabot, marquis de Mirabeau, added in 1610 the so-called "little chateau", a pavilion rising independently before the principal building. This exhibits in the ground story the most luxuriant rustication with a truly fantastic and overloaded decoration, in which all sorts of plays of lines alternate with plant forms. Overstairs rises the upper story with elegant Corinthian pilasters, rich window gables and a magnificent frieze entirely decorated by foliage. This luxurious building is entirely constructed of ashlars, and was calculated for a contrast with the water of the surrounding moat.

On the contrary on the highest monotony is the further extension of the main chateau, which was erected by the finance intendant d'Hemery in the first years of the reign of Louis XIV after 1643. Since this no longer belongs to this epoch, we pass over it, since another chateau of the time of Louis XIII presents an example of similar monotony.

This is the chateau of Wicreville not far from Versailles. It was built by C. de Bullion, who filled high offices of state under Henry IV and Louis XIII. The plan forms a rectangle of little depth, 30 ft. by 125 ft. wide. At both sides project small pavilions with round roofs, and the middle forms a larger and likewise projecting pavilion, that rises by a story above the remaining one story structure, and contains the vestibule with a rectangular hall. At the right beside this is arranged the stairway rising in a straight flight, while at the left lies a smaller side stairs. The entire distribution is convenient and suitable. The building is surrounded by a moat, and rises on an island with a high substructure, that is flanked at the angles by small towers like a fortification. The extremely high windows, the angles as well as the bulkheads consist of ashlars, all else being built of bricks, and the entire building exhibits the greatest simplicity and monotony. Of the internal equipment the beautiful glazed floors are to

be particularly emphasized. In the park is seen a grotto design with Doric columns, that shows an imitation of the forms of drops.

In Normandy, where brick architecture had already acquired an artistic treatment in the middle ages, we likewise also find examples of a richer use of it. Particularly magnificent on the chateau of Beaumesnil in department of Eure. (Fig. 117). On an island surrounded by water rises the magnificent building, whose windows and doorways as well as the angles exhibit an unusually dry rustication, while the wall surfaces in brick are executed in lozenge patterns. This as well as the original Barocco fanciful caps of the portals, windows and dormers, which everywhere show the greatest diversity in forms, finally powerful and richly executed chimney caps, and the pompous termination of the middle pavilion with all its heavy overloading. The effect of these richly divided masses is enhanced in the happiest manner by the water and the magnificent groups of trees in the immediate vicinity. As in Wideville, the consists of an elongated rectangle 8 ft. deep by 12 ft. wide. The middle forms a projecting pavilion, that contains the vestibule with the statuary.

The same character, the like combination of brickwork in patterns with dry rusticated ashlar is found on the old parts of the chateau of Ifs near Becamp, except that the plan is smaller and the decoration is not as heavy and overloaded as at Beaumesnil, although likewise dry and Barocco. The building also consists only of a rectangle 25 by 35 ft. The middle contains the vestibule with the stairway, beside which at each side is a great chamber occupying the remaining space. At the angles of the front facade are placed little round towers with oggee roofs, that as cabinets are connected with the adjacent chambers. Also here is principally accented the picturesque movement of the masses. A magnificent park with its groups of foliage forms an effective background.

### 98. City private houses.

Among the prominent dwellings, that are everywhere preserved from this time in the chief cities of the land, there must be designated as one of the most important the mansion Montescot at Chartres. It was built at the beginning of the 17th century by C. de Montescot, secretary of Henry IV, later served as a monastery, and is now utilized as the city hall. We give



the plan of the building in Fig. 113, which shows the regular arrangement, that was peculiar to prominent city residences in France for a long time, with a particularly clear distribution. Around a rectangular court E are grouped on three sides the living rooms, while on the fourth side next the street a wall with the entrance gateway forms the enclosure. The main stairway A lies in the middle of the wing at the rear, and second stairs B are placed in the left wing. The architecture consists of bricks and ashlar, and exhibits the extreme measure of monotony, nowhere with the least ornament, and even the cornices and other members are with a heaviness approaching rudeness. Only the great proportions and the happy movement of the masses give a stately expression to the building. It is remarkable that the enclosures of the windows and the pilasters, that subdivide the walls are made of bricks, while the other parts mostly exhibit ashlar. At the principal portal, which received a richer design, ashlar alternate with bricks. The three portals of the court facade are more richly executed and are even furnished with sculptured ornament.

Incomparably more elegant and magnificent is the mansion de Vogue at Dijon, which was built about the same time by E. Bouchier, who held an influential position as councillor in the parliament of Burgundy. The year 1614 must be assumed as the date for the completion of the building, for this date is read on the fireplace of the great hall. Bouchier was an inspired friend of art, made journeys in Italy and carried his studies so far, that in the year 1630 the hospital of the city was built according to his plans. He probably also made the drawings for the magnificent residence, that he earlier caused to be erected for himself. Certain peculiarities, both in the arrangement of the plan as well as in the original but still capricious and even eccentric treatment of the architecture seem to state, that one has to do here with the work of an ingenious and wealthy dilettante.

The building is grouped in three wings about a small court, that is separated from the street by a wall with a magnificent Barocco entrance. Attached to this wall as an internal arcade, that with the highest splendor of execution contains an elegant example of the antique studies, and in its graceful classicism

strikingly differs from the other parts. The building is otherwise neither eminent by its happy proportions nor by the consistency of its development. For example the windows have strikingly dry enclosures with which wonderfully contrast the heavy gable caps resting on consoles, that are partly round and partly scrolled in volutes. In details indeed freely in these parts is greater richness of decoration, that in its execution combines plant and figure elements. There is a luxuriance of conception, that always brings new motives and by the richness of the variations, which even extends to the enclosures of the roof dormers, abandons the harmony of effect. But the solidity of the construction, the consistent use of pure ashlar masonry, that extends uniformly over all parts, give the building the worth of a highly original creation. To this is added the excellent maintenance, which extends to the colored tile roofs with their elegant lead points, the magnificent lantern in the stairway the iron work full of character on the wall in the farm court, and finally also the wooden paneling and the entire internal equipment of the rooms.

Smaller private houses of this epoch are seen in many other cities. We mention in Rouen the stately house of Rue de la grosse norloge, that forms the angle of Rue des belles femmes. It bears the number of the year 1601 and belongs to the richest of that epoch. In Paris is counted here the mansion Sully in Rue S. Antoine built after 1624, one of the largest and most complete of the prominent private city residences of this time, unusually rich in sculptured decoration. Further in Arras is a house in Rue des Balances, that is executed in dry and strong forms. These examples may suffice instead of many others.

To dimensions of importance like a palace rose the princely residence that Richelieu after 1624 caused to be built opposite the north side of the Louvre by J. Lemercier, and to which he gave the name of palace Cardinal. Scarcely was the proud building completed (1639) when the owner gave it to the king. Since 1643 it has been known as palace Royal, and it was designated as the seat of the regent Anne of Austria, then Louis XIV transferred it to Philip of Orleans, who caused the important transformations to be made, as we know it. The great palace originally consisted of a number of wings grouped in a rectangle,

which extended around two great courts. The principal court was enclosed on three sides by buildings; on the fourth it was bordered by a ground story with arcade, over which extended a terrace next the great and magnificent garden. In the interior prevailed princely luxury in the arrangement and furnishing of the rooms. Besides the great festal hall and galleries with marble works and paintings by the hands of the first painters of the time, the palace contained two halls for plays, a small one for select circles, and a larger for 3,000 spectators. This was the classic stage which soon received its consecration by the works of Corneille, Racine and Moliere.

#### 94. Public buildings.

How very greatly the civil wars and religious contests obstructed the development of the cities, we already saw in considering the city hall of Paris (S.59), whose erection was long stopped and was first completed under Henry IV. The reign of this popular king was then chiefly, what offered protection and freedom of development to the citizens. As proof of this there arose after the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in several of the most important cities of the country, city halls in the bold and even dry forms of the time, but at the same time in the energetic luxuriance of decoration of which this style is capable. Men believe that in the freshness and richness of these buildings is recognized a reflection of the new feeling of life, that under the sceptre of Henry IV returned after such long sufferings of the citizen class.

One of the most important among these monuments is the city hall of Rochelle, the famous fortified city of the Huguenots. The building was erected at different times, and a part of it dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the year 1605 was laid the corner stone for the gallery (Fig. 119) and the great hall, that now forms the masterpiece of the entire building. In the ground story extends an arcade before the facade on unusually short and dry Doric columns. The shafts of the columns consist of fluted drums alternating with heavy bosses. Not to make the gallery too narrow and too gloomy, where the openings in the wall permitted, the architect has omitted the column to be expected, and connected the two arches by a pendant keystone. Thereby results a very fanciful and rational rhythm, that in

the upper parts is continued by slender Corinthian columns. In these wider intervals are placed great windows with straight lintels, but in the narrower are niches with statues on elegant bases. A roof story with Baroque but highly original design in windows and gables form the energetically effective termination. All parts of the building exhibit an unusually rich decoration for this time; in the spandrels of the arcade are trophies and garlands of leaves, on the pendant keystones are masks, in the triglyph frieze are emblems as well as the initial of the king, on the frieze of the principal story are elegant acanthus scrolls, on the crownings of the roof gables are masks and volutes, caryatids like hermes and genii with cornucopias. This magnificent building is still a proof of the power and bloom of the city, which soon thereafter received its deathblow (1628). Formerly existed on this facade a double flight of steps with the equestrian statue of Henry IV.

In the year 1627 Rheims, the old coronation city of the French kings, also commenced the erection of a new city hall, which adhered in plan and construction to the model of the city hall of Paris. As there the facade was flanked by two pavilions with high roofs. A middle pavilion contains the main entrance and is crowned by a clock tower. The proportions are good, the subdivision and membering of the facade are clear and executed in bold and tolerably pure forms. The ground story has Doric half columns and rustication, that is also employed for the window enclosures. In the upper story are arranged Corinthian half columns, while the third story in which the pavilions rise above the other parts, exhibits Ionic half columns. A roof story with alternately larger and smaller dormers forms the termination. Over the portal is seen the equestrian figure of Louis XIII on relief on limestone, which appears in the place of a wooden relief destroyed in 1792. The inscription found there gives the year 1636 as the date of completion of the building.

On a greater plan, magnificent even if executed in rather heavy forms is the city hall of Lyons, begun in 1646, but in its entire keeping is later in this epoch. Beautifully restored in recent times, improved and enlarged, the building is a pompous expression of the fullness of life of this rich and powerful city. The rich relief ornamentation chiefly contributes to

this, which in its abundance of power recalls the Roman monuments of southern France. To this is added that the architectural forms are rather purely and nobly treated with few Barocco fantasies; further that the entire building is constructed of ashlar, an advantage which it shares with the city halls of Paris, Rochelle and Rheims.

The facade again follows the arrangement given by the city hall of Paris; at both sides are bold pavilions covered by round roofs, with the entrance at the middle, over which in the upper story is a flat niche with the equestrian statue of Louis XIII, behind it rising the clock tower with the clock, terminated by a rich lantern. Great richness is given to the facade by the relief ornament; in the ground story are masks on the keystones of the window arches and portrait medallions in the tympanums, in the principal story being crouching lions on the window gables, in the upper story are garlands of fruits on the windows, trophies in the pediments of the pavilions, on which rest the allegorical figures of the four cardinal virtues, and finally similar figures as crowning the middle niche and the bell tower.

For the interior is an arrangement with great charm, that the magnificent principal court lies considerably higher than the level of the street, an arrangement already found in allied form in the city halls of Orleans and of Paris. The internal decoration in great part belongs to the recent restoration at considerable expense.

## Chapter IX. Church architecture of the Renaissance period.

### 95. Its stages of development.

In Italy, the Renaissance by the energy of its universality of its endeavors assumed in its programme church architecture as well as secular, and also sought to exemplify its artistic ideal in buildings for religious requirements. In the greatest diversity we meet with this tendency there; the basilica, the nave with a single aisle with horizontal ceiling or with vaults, systems of domes or tunnel vaults, or exclusively with the latter, and no less do cross vaults come into use. Before all the central building is employed in combination with the dome, and is developed in many transformations as a circular structure, a polygon, square or Greek cross. From the earliest beginning goes hand in hand the endeavor to give these works the stamp of antique temples by subdivision, construction and decoration in the spirit of classical antiquity.

We find nothing of all this in France. After the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century church architecture had taken with unexampled energy the material and artistic powers of the nation, and covered the land with such an abundance of church buildings of every rank from the cathedral to the smallest chapel and village church, that after this tendency scarcely anything further remained to be done. Where in certain cases buildings of the earlier time were to be completed, or new ones to be erected, this occurred entirely in the mediaeval manner in that late Gothic flamboyant style, that indeed in France developed a rare richness and ornamental fullness. We have given in S. 12 examples of these Gothic stragglers, and have found by them that this national style of architecture remained in force until late in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. A still astonishing example of the strong adherence to the Gothic style and of its indestructible life force is the cathedral of Orleans, which after its destruction by the Huguenots, by the arrangement of Henry IV after 1601 was entirely restored according to the mediaeval plan and in the Gothic style. It is seen by these facts, that the old building lodges long remained in power, and that the masters of Gothic art were supported by the attachment of the citizens and church corporations to the style of the middle

ages, and understood how to maintain it against the penetrating Renaissance.

But when the princes and the high nobility began to erect a chateaus in all parts of the country, which brought the new style into use in a splendid manner, it could not fail that the ornamental charm of these buildings in a time of the most increased love of decoration soon made a deep impression upon all circles. Among the old masters of the works was even aroused the impulse to compete with the artists of the modern style and to give proofs of their knowledge of the antique. About after 1520 evidence of this can be found in their buildings. Yet the antique element but modestly occurred at first and mostly in ornamental details, for tradition was so powerful that not merely the mediæval plan with three or five aisles, polygonal choir with choir aisle and chancel, but also the entire system of Gothic construction, the ribbed vaults and the great windows with pointed arches, the buttresses and flying buttresses, were firmly retained. But in the details men began to express these constructions by new forms. At least these are noticed in the interior: yet already occur piers, that are decorated by antique pilasters, and the pendant keystones of the vaults so favored in this epoch were treated in antique forms with arabesques and figure ornaments.

Much more general is the use of Renaissance details on the exterior. Here the buttresses are covered by antique pilasters, and even cornices are connected with antique architraves and friezes, the finials take the form of candelabras, and the flying buttresses also receive a decoration in Renaissance forms. Most fully this compromise between mediæval design and antique expression is made on the portals and generally on the entire facade. First are the antique details, orders of columns, niches, coffered vaults, as well as manifold ornaments, that quite capriciously are added to mediæval design and lend to such facades the character of harmlessly sportive magnificence. But about 1540 a stronger and more scholastic treatment of antique forms wins control, and soon men applied antique orders of columns with entablature and pediment to Gothic construction, without perceiving the innate contradiction of such an arrangement.

It is striking in all this, how long prance resisted these

innovations. Even in Renaissance, chateaus the chapels for a long time remained entirely Gothic, thus not merely in Gaillon (S. 16) and in Chenonceaux (S. 32), but even in Ecouen, where J. Buillant erected the chapel in the Gothic style (S. 72). On the contrary it was again first the chateau chapels, that adopted the severe antique style, and it was P. de L'Orme, who in the chapels at Villers Cotterets (S. 29) and at Anet (S. 68) brought classical architecture into use. But in larger churches this example was first followed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and after S. de Brosse had commenced in 1616 the facade of S. Gervais, soon afterward at the church of the Carmelites and of the Sorbonne (1635) was the Italian dome introduced into France.

#### 96. Churches at Caen.

Normandy, whose magnificent undertakings in the domain of secular architecture, we have learned to know among the most important creations of the early Renaissance, likewise produces in church architecture a series of works, in which this mixed transition style is developed to the highest splendor. The masterpiece of this epoch, that nowhere finds its equal, is the choir of S. Pierre at Caen, begun in 1521 by H. Schier. The plan shows a polygonal ending after the Gothic custom with a low choir aisle and a chevet. The construction and form of the piers and vaults are still mediaeval throughout, but the ornamentation consists of a mixture of late Gothic forms with details of the early Renaissance, in which the fanciful luxuriance of both styles unite in an effect of incomparable charm.

In the interior the star vaults consist of the richest interlacings, and the boldly profiled ribs are beset for their entire extent by freely perforated scroll ornament, meet in keystones, that in the form of pendants are freely suspended and are decorated by Renaissance forms in a brilliant manner. Even greater magnificence is developed on the fanciful canopies of the niches with statues, everywhere formed in the angles of the choir aisle and of the chapels. There is developed in them from a Gothic base the slender crowning in manifold animated forms by a sportive early Renaissance.

But the climax is reached by this excessively luxuriant architecture in the exterior (Fig. 120). Since Gothic construction is now translated entirely into Renaissance forms, as candidly



or niches crowned by graceful canopies are placed in the buttresses, as the most original plays of fancy form the terminations instead of Gothic finials, as playful arabesques fill the balustrades of the roof galleries, and similar compositions cover the remaining surfaces, the spandrels above the windows, the friezes and the enclosures of the upper round windows, this belongs to the most spirited and graceful of the entire Renaissance. The composition is free from pedantic severity and more results in an excess of genius, that alone justifies such creations, is so sparkling with life, the execution is so elegant, that the whole exists as a true masterpiece not excelled in its way.

A second creation of an allied kind is seen in Caen in the little church S. Sauveur. It is an irregular late Gothic structure consisting of two aisles, that terminates in two polygonal choirs beside each other. One is a fine work of the late Gothic flamboyant style, and the other competes with it in the ornamental forms of the early Renaissance. Likewise here elegant pilasters are employed externally, and also the entire Gothic system of buttresses and finials is charmingly composed of Renaissance forms, like a very sportive parody of Gothic ornamentation. This magnificent work recalls in its manner the no less distinguished architecture of mansion d'Ecoville (S.47).

#### 97. Other churches of Normandy.

To the earliest works of this transition style belongs the church at Trepot, whose portal is a work of elegant early Renaissance. It opens with two entirely flat arches beneath a great semicircular arch, whose jambs with a Gothic profile is partly decorated by naturalistic foliage of the late mediaeval style, partly by shells and scrolled bands in ornamental Renaissance. Between these two openings a niche has found its place, covered by an antique gable and flanked by Corinthian pilasters. The upper part of the tympanum exhibits a capricious filling of late Gothic canopies and tracery.

How dimly the masters of that epoch groped about in church architecture between both styles, and then even dismounted the Gothic style without firmly adopting the new style, is shown by the facade of the church of Gisors. This is a building of very irregular Gothic design, consisting of a main portal and

two side doorways, that are separated by massive buttresses. The northern angle of the facade is flanked by a tower dating from the middle ages, while at the south in a very oblique position, wonderfully enough a colossal tower rises in the form of the later Renaissance, that however remain unfinished. With this exception the entire remaining facade exhibits a strange and misunderstood mixture of late Gothic forms with Renaissance motives. The main portal with its colossal round arch is filled by niches between Corinthian pilasters, and in the tympanum is a relief of the dream of Jacob. In the ornamentation of the jambs of the arch and of the side walls prevails the most wonderful mixture of the styles. Entirely without skill are decorated the upper part of the middle structure. Over the portal arch is constructed a low arched gable filled by rude sculptures, and above rises a shrine formed like an open loggia between Corinthian pilasters, in its way the best and most ornamental part on the entire building. But if seen as merely planted on to mask the magnificent pointed window of the middle aisle lying behind it, one recognizes the entire stupidity of the architect, who knew nothing more of the old forms and not even how to commence the new ones. The same confusion appears on all parts of this grotesque facade, particularly on the upper story and the octagonal crowning of the northern tower. This indeed appears absurd and excessive enough, yet belongs with all ornamental splendor of the most wonderful kind. As architects are mentioned R. Grappin and his son Jean. Rather better keeping is exhibited by the facade of the church of Vetheuil. Choir and tower construction belong to the middle ages, while the sacristy, aisle and portals were completed in 1533 - 1550. If the consecration of the church first occurred in 1538 as stated, this has good reason, for the upper part of the facade was manifestly not finished earlier. One recognizes this by the more severe style in which the antique elements are here employed, and already the triglyph frieze with console cornice terminates the main building, and is crowned with a classical pediment, that cannot have been executed before the epoch of Henry II. Otherwise both on the main portal as well as on the great doorway of the transverse aisle, that opens on an elegant portico, the combination with Gothic forms is simplified, and the endeavor

is evidently devoted to grandeur and clarity. Yet here also the helplessness of the architect is wonderfully expressed, especially in the niche crowning the main portal.

On the contrary truly salutary is the great facade of church S. Clotilde at Andelys. Here the mediaeval arrangement is also retained, but with the well understood elements of antique architecture is so happily combined in such an eminently artistic spirit, that a great and harmonious although certainly a merely decorative effect results. Two principal stories are enclosed by massive coupled columns, Ionic below and Corinthian above. Between the columns remains sufficient space for elegant niches and other filling accessories. In the ground story opens the portal flanked by Ionic columns and divided into two smaller arched openings, that rest on elegant caryatids. The great tympanum has been intelligibly also filled here by only niches between columns. Over all parts extends a luxuriant ornamentation of partly figure and partly plant forms, and the termination is formed by a magnificent Corinthian cornice with consoles. A splendid wheel window fills the upper story, below it being a very elegant gallery, whose window openings are enclosed by Corinthian columns. The whole is a creation of high artistic value.

In the same style is also completed the transformation of the interior. The Gothic arches are seen to rest on piers that are decorated by Renaissance pilasters; the clearstory rises over an antique cornice with fluted Corinthian pilasters; and even the triforium is decorated by antique columns and entablatures, although the windows above exhibit flamboyant patterns. For the time of the building is not determined by the date 1540, that is noted on a glass window, but the entire artistic character speaks for the splendid epoch of Henry II.

Finally the same developed classical taste is also shown by the portal of the church of Aumale. It is a composition entirely in the character of the arch of Titus, a great semicircle resting on Corinthian columns, between which are placed niches with statues of angels. In the spandrels otherwise soar angelic like Victories, while the frieze is decorated by laurel branches and ox skulls. A shrine forms the upper termination, enclosed by Corinthian columns and classical pediment, within which

is a statue of the Madonna with knelling angels at both sides. At the angles are smaller niches with figures of saints, still in the Gothic sense but crowned by canopies in Renaissance forms. This late exchange of mediaeval motives is the more remarkable, since the portal bears the date of 1603.

Very much rarer are the examples of thorough treatment of the interior in the forms of this mixed style. But one of the most remarkable is the little church of Tillieres, that was built between 1548 and 1546 (for both dates are found on the monument.) This concerns the interesting vaults of the choir, that ends in a polygon and is covered by Gothic pointed vaults. The ribs exhibit elegant Renaissance ornaments on the broad surfaces, and the suspended pendants are decorated in the greatest magnificence by little pilasters and niches, masks and arabesques, little figures, mingled with volutes, acanthus leaves and even with some Gothic foliage. The complete character of an already luxuriant Renaissance is borne by the luxurious stone reliefs, by which all the compartments of the vaults are covered in their entire extent. Nude figures in all foreshortenings and movements play a chief part here. Sometimes these are genii, sometimes fabulous beings with busts of women, sometimes great masks with winged beings of various kinds, then with heavy and much scrolled cartouches work, as well as flower scrolls and emblems of different kinds, composing a varied sort. This style is not merely unsuited to the church in the highest degree, but what is worse --- is inartistic. It is the offensive ornamentation of the school of Fontainebleau grown into flower, now bearing its fruits, and that no longer divides the surfaces in its ingenious play, but desires to attract all eyes in its broad glorification of itself.

Extremely numerous are also elsewhere the church buildings, which then originated in Normandy. Thus we find on the cathedral of Evreux that the north facade was executed about 1581 by J. Cossart in the characteristic style of this early period. Later under Henry II was the main facade completed in the developed Renaissance style. Very remarkable are then on the abbey church of Valmont lying in ruins, the stilted round arches on Doric columns, the triforiums with their Ionic columns, over which is a terminating antique frieze with consoles. On the

contrary, the triforiums of the church at Pont-Audemer are Gothic; but otherwise the mediaeval construction is animated by luxuriant Renaissance ornaments. How singularly does this mixture of styles appear in this time, that is shown before all in the interior of the church S. Germain at Argentan, in whose choir aisle the two story piers decorated by Doric and Ionic columns contrast very strangely with the ribs of the net vaults with their mediaeval sections and their luxuriant pendants (Fig. 121). An extremely elegant decoration of the highest refinement is exhibited by the church of Notre Dame de Pitie in Longhi, built 1545 - 1548. particularly rich are the buttresses with their double niches and ornamental terminations, as well as the charming main portal. On the contrary the interior is simple and there are especially absent the keystones so favored elsewhere. Again the church of Almonaches near Argentan, that was completed in 1550, shows this peculiarity richly employed. How there still frequently mediaeval and Renaissance there jostle each other is shown by the church of Mortagne, which was completed in 1535 in the Gothic style, but received a Renaissance tower 7 years later. A developed facade in the new style is found on S. Marie at Caudebec, while S. Remy at Dieppe, erected 1522 - 1581, combines the pointed arches with Renaissance details. S. Jacques in the same city and of the year 1535 shows on the exterior the buttresses decorated by ornamental shrines, and on the contrary in the interior the vaults have rich pendant keystones. Sometimes the high tower over the crowning generally common since the Romanesque epoch, in the interior is brought under the sway of the new style; one of the most remarkable examples is S. Pierre of Coutances, whose central tower is elegantly subdivided by the orders of antique architecture. The upper story of the magnificent lanterny was only completed under Henry III.

### 95. Churches of Paris.

The city of Paris in alliance with the Sorbonne during the 16th century played an energetic reactionary part in all spiritual contests, especially in those of the religious domain, and this is expressed also in its artistic undertakings. The numerous and important churches, still entirely erected in the Gothic style in this epoch, have been mentioned already in §.12.

Meanwhile the love of building of Francis I still had so much influence, that also here under his reign some churches originated, that bear the stamp of the new time in a very prominent manner. To these first belongs S. Etienne du Mont. Beside the old abbey of S. Genevieve had risen since the 13<sup>th</sup> century a parish church, which at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century urgently required enlargement on account of the greatly increased number of people. But first in 1517 the building was commenced and in 1537 was completed the choir, in 1541 the altars could be consecrated, but still in 1563 the construction still continued, and the facade was first begun in 1610.

The church presents in the interior a wonderful compromise between Gothic and Renaissance, yet so that the latter appears only on the balustrades of the galleries, the beaded rounds of the pier capitals and similar subordinate details. In plan and construction still entirely Gothic, it shows a polygonal choir with aisle and chevet, a high middle aisle with excessively high side aisles and long nave. The impression is unsatisfactory, since the misproportion of the heights is not suitable. The round piers in the choir are connected by pointed Gothic moulded arches, that like the broad ribs of the vaults start from the shafts without capitals. In the nave the advanced Renaissance is expressed in round arches with archivolts, that however more unpleasantly contrast with the lofty arrangement of the building. A remarkable arrangement is the plan of a passage, that as a gallery at the mid-point of the middle aisle connects the piers and extends around them at the back, affording a communication around the entire building. The Gothic star vaults all have pendant keystones, very elegant in open work and forming the favorite masterpiece of the entire design. In the other hand the windows are heavy and broad with ugly tracery, the upper being pointed, the lower round arched. Ugly is also the roof screen with its flat arch and perforated winding stairs. (?). On the contrary the portals to the choir aisle are elegant pieces of decoration in Renaissance taste. In a word, it is Gothic become mechanical, which seeks to deck itself with certain antique ornamental parts.

It is otherwise with the facade added after 1610 (Fig. 122). Its steeply rising general form adjoins the nave, but seeks to employ the elements of the antique for divisions and ornamentation.

That has not been executed here in an entirely scholastic way, yet the interesting work can be regarded as a path-breaking precedent for the soon afterward occurring severely antique facades. It is characteristic, that the tall windows according to mediaeval custom are retained, and even the wheel window finds acceptance. The middle part with its elegant Corinthian columns is in de l'Orme's "French order", and the richly ornamented pediment with the second curved gable over it, all parts being covered by tasteful ornament, is evidence of the endeavor made to adapt the antique system to church facades.

Of much greater value is the beautiful and great church S. Eustache, the richest and largest parish church on the right bank of the Seine. It was entirely rebuilt after 1532 under the direction of a master David, indeed beginning first with the nave. The erection proceeded slowly, the choir being first completed in 1624 and the whole somewhat later.

Likewise we find here a strictly mediaeval plan, that was adhered to with rare consistency in such a late time, and was carried out in beautiful harmony. The interior exhibits important proportions and that tendency to too great slenderness, which again breaks out in the late Gothic art of France. The middle aisle rises little above the four high side aisles, but has a complete triforium beneath its windows. Low chapels enclose the aisles and continue as an aisle around the high choir. The impression of the interior is extremely light, free and satisfactory. All development of forms extends in the round arches and in the finest Renaissance style, that are ornamented by rich Renaissance forms.

On the exterior (Fig. 128, the buttresses and arches, cornices and windows, the gables of the transverse aisle with their portals, are entire translated into Renaissance forms; but there is wanting that inspired free treatment of S. Pierre at Caen, and instead of it appears a rather Baroque classicism, that most decidedly suffers shipwreck on the flying buttresses and the windows. On the contrary, a beautiful and very effective composition in rich ornamental early Renaissance was the principal facade with its three portals, that later and while still unfinished were torn down and replaced by the architects Mansart, de Jouy and Horeau, by a clumsy work entirely unsuited

to the rest of the building, and which is now seen.

### 99. Churches in Isle de France.

Of that attractive mixture of mediæval construction and plan with Renaissance ornamentation, many examples are presented by a number of churches in the province of Isle de France, then again so active in building. We name the church at Montjavoult with a portal in splendid early Renaissance, whose rather heavy and wide coffered arch rests on a wall with ornamental niches enclosed by fluted Corinthian pilasters. The whole is flanked by freely projecting Corinthian columns like a triumphal arch and presents a very original composition. The most intimate mixture of styles is shown by the choir of Notre Dame at La Ferté-Milon, whose Gothic windows exhibit very late vertical tracery, while the subdivision of the walls is effected by Doric pilasters and a high frieze. The number of the year 1563 proves how late this mixed architecture maintained itself. On the contrary S. Aspais at Melun was built after 1503, and still entirely follows those churches that are entirely in the mediæval manner, but in details belongs to the first changes to Renaissance forms. The same is true of the church at Montereau-Fault-Yonne, that in 1534 still shows the same mixed style, but with a stronger addition of Renaissance forms. An extremely elegant facade of the new style, luxuriant and richly executed, we find on the church at Othis, whose portal is decorated by Doric columns and a fine triglyph frieze. The buttresses have fluted Ionic pilasters and are no less elegant and splendid. The building was first completed in 1573. Similar treatment is shown by the church at Erie-Comte-Robert, except that here prevails the Corinthian order, which always indicates a somewhat earlier time. Entirely in the Renaissance style is built the church at Etrepilly. One of the most beautiful examples is the church at Belley, whose facade originated in 1540, and is now attributed to J. Bullant. Here belongs also the church of Sarcolles, somewhat later and simpler, but treated in the same spirit. About the same is true of the church at Villers-le-Bel with its antique buttresses, likewise designated as the work of Bullant. It bears the dates of 1545 and 1550. Also a considerable number of church buildings all bear the character of Bullant's art style, as S. Damian at Luzarches, that at



Goussainville from 1559, that at Isle-Adam completed in 1567, further those of Maffliers and of Mesnil-Aubry (about 1582), so that one can at least recognize his influence or his school in them. Of himself it is scarcely to the thought, on the contrary. The building last named in spite of the late date of origin still shows pointed arches on Doric columns with entablature and high frieze.

An attractive building is then S. Maclou in Pontoise, where the northern side aisle was erected about 1525, and is attributed to P. Lemercier, who in 1552 received the commission to complete the tower. From 1556-1578 was then added the southern side aisle in a more severe style. Somewhat earlier, from 1548 to 1561, were built on the church at Magny the southern side aisle and the transverse aisle, the former with Ionic on the exterior, the latter with half columns of the same order on pilasters instead of buttresses. The windows are indeed spanned by round arches, but still have Gothic tracery, though of very ugly form. On the transverse aisle rise two ornamental additions like gables with niches, enclosed by Corinthian pilasters. These parts are attributed to J. Grappin, the architect of the church at Gisors. To the same master is believed should be referred the church of S. Gervais, whose portal of the year 1550 was erected in a very elegant manner like the antique.

We find a more severe facade of the year 1549 on the church S. George at Villeneuve, and particularly remarkable are the two Doric side portals.

#### 100. Churches at Troyes.

A devastating fire attacked the city of Troyes in the year 1524, and destroyed entire quarters of the city and seven churches; giving opportunity for new buildings of all kinds, that in a general way came to benefit also the church buildings. Troyes is still one of the most attractive and ancient cities of France, and therefore presents a series of church monuments, in which the mixture of the Gothic style with the Renaissance is variously expressed. Mostly located in narrow and crooked streets of the densely populated city, these buildings are of moderate extent and in their plans exhibit interesting experiments to suited to the needs of the church in conflict with the extremely limited conditions of space. Thus for example

the choir is often rectilinear, to utilize the entire depth to the next street, but in the interior the middle aisle also ends in a polygon, and the side aisles with their chapels, when these exist, seek to combine the rectilinear termination with the internal polygon by means of artificial plans of vaults.

Such is the church of S. Nicolas, that was entirely rebuilt in 1523-1600. It consists of a high middle and two low and narrow side aisles, all with rich star vaults, that are decorated in the choir bays by luxuriant perforated ornaments. The pointed arch still prevails in the arches of the choir, while the nave exhibits the round arch. Most care was here devoted to the windows, for their great round arched openings are filled by tracery, partly consisting of ugly late Gothic forms, partly of dry Renaissance motives. At the western end of the nave a great stairs at the south side leads to a magnificent gallery, whose grand arrangement is truly astonishing. Likewise on the exterior are mixed the two styles, and of the two main portals at the north and south sides, the former still entirely belongs to late Gothic, while the other moves in the tolerably free and fanciful forms of the Renaissance.

Still more strongly does the Renaissance with its rich ornamental forms grapple with Gothic construction and plan at S. Pantaloon, where the interior has a very picturesque effect by the abrupt alternation of forms. The church consists of a high middle aisle with narrow and low side aisles and chapels. As at S. Nicolas, the ending of the choir is entirely rectangular, yet in the interior has a polygonal or rather a semicircular ending of the middle aisle. In the arches, vaults and the windows of the side aisles still belongs the Gothic and the pointed arch; on the contrary the piers of the middle aisle are treated as colossal Corinthian columns, that produce a discord by their broken entablature. Just as ugly is the wooden tunnel vault by which the middle aisle is covered. Likewise the round arched windows of the clearstory with dry tracery in Renaissance forms are distasteful in effect. The exterior is characterized by rich ornamentation of the choir in late Gothic forms. Of the portals, the southern is still a work in Gothic, while the northern belongs to the developed Renaissance.

On the little church of S. Jean the nave was left substantially

as burned; on the contrary the choir was rebuilt after 1524 in much increased dimensions; with its side aisles nearly attained the height of the old middle aisle. The vaults of the choir aisle and the chapels exhibit the most luxuriant combination of ribs with fantastic perforated ornaments. Especially interesting is the combination of the octagonal ending with the rectangular form of the exterior. The latter and the bell tower show the same mixed style. Numerous skilful glass paintings adorn the church, and enough similar is seen in the other churches of Troyes.

A different plan is exhibited by the little church S. Nizier, which was also rebuilt in the years 1535-1573 after the fire. The side aisles continue with three polygonal chapels around the octagonal choir; an arrangement that already occurred in S. Madeleine, elsewhere being exceptional in France. The arches, vaults and windows, still exhibit the pointed arch, yet this is mixed with Renaissance forms in the tracery of the latter. Striking are the broad and depressed proportions of the building, which are opposed to the unusually slender treatment prevailing elsewhere in Troyes. The southern portal still shows Gothic reminiscences, the northern the forms of the Renaissance with columns and entablature, and the western main portal has the last style in an elegant composition like a triumphal arch, in two stories and expressed in Ionic and Corinthian columns with elegant details.

The same form of plan is shown by the little church S. Remy, whose nave still belongs to the middle ages, while the choir with its aisle and chapels, vaults and windows, betrays the mixed style of the 16th century.

#### 101. Churches in the rest of France.

It suffices to indicate in some examples the further extension of this wonderful mixed form, that artistically has no great importance, in order to emphasize the general rule of this fantastic mode of decoration.

Still dimly varying between both styles appears the facade of the church of Tilloloy in Picardy, department of Somme. It is a high and broad, undivided and gabled structure, flanked by two round towers with pointed roofs; a composition that rather recalls north German than French buildings. The mass

of the masonry consists of bricks, but of characteristic forms, the portal, windows, cornice and niches are of ashlar. Here the elements of the Renaissance play wonderfully with the ornamental arabesques of the pilasters, numerous ornamental niches, the enclosing, crowning and the members of the portal in Gothic details. The latter finds its expression principally in the great wheel window and in certain tracery ornaments, that strive to decorate the high gable oddly and tastelessly. The whole shows us a bizarre composition, that not even approximately attains the full understanding of the antique, but at the same time has lost the correct use of Gothic forms. In the interior is found the date of 1534 as given by Palustre; not 1554 as given by Berty and others.

As designed at other places about the same time appears a little church architecture of Champagne. In the vicinity of Troyes and not far from Rozieres lies the little village of S. Andre, formerly distinguished by an abbey destroyed in the Revolution. The parish church is in itself an unimportant building, but attains importance by an unusually grand and magnificent main portal of the year 1549. It is one of the richest compositions of this kind, that the epoch of Henry II produced, and cannot easily be surpassed by a similar one. The antique conclusively predominates, with full understanding of the forms, but also without any senile dryness, rather expressing itself with the force of a luxuriant imagination. The whole consists of two orders of four Corinthian columns like a triumphal arch, that in the ground story form two entrances of equal height and width, in the upper story enclosing two great round arched windows. A magnificent frieze with dentils separates the two stories, and a frieze with consoles and an antique pediment crowns the whole. The portals and windows, the niches and the framework of the side divisions, the stylobates, indeed the remaining surfaces are covered by lavish ornamentation, and festoons of fruits and flowers are even placed on the shafts of the columns in festal splendor. Between the two windows is the statue of S. Andreas, and two other figures of saints fill the niches of the upper story.

Of similar design appears the portal of S. martin of the church of Notre Dame at Epernay. A richly coffered arch is enclosed by two orders of coupled Corinthian columns, and a cornice

with consoles and an antique pediment here forms the termination. Yet there rises above it a narrower addition, whose triglyph frieze is borne by two caryatids. At both sides are volutes ending in plant scrolls, that make the transition to the wider substructure. The portal itself consists of a doubled opening with arches resting on consoles. A rich band separates this part from the great round arch like a triumphal arch, that encloses both openings. Its tympanum is filled after the manner of a wheel window with five divisions, a last reminiscence of the middle ages. All members and surfaces of this magnificent work are covered by luxuriant sculptured ornaments.

Also in the south we find a similar show piece in the portal of the church of Dalbade at Toulouse. It likewise exhibits two openings, that are enclosed by Corinthian pilasters and fluted half columns. Above it an entablature with frieze with elegant arabesques forms the termination. In the middle on a richly decorated column is seen the statue of the Madonna, while at both sides are ornamental niches intended for similar ornamentation. The tympanum is opened by two windows with rich enclosing arcades, and the upper termination is crowned by an antique gable above a niche. The composition of the whole yet has something uncertain, the decoration is rather sportively fanciful, which refers to the time of Francis I.

On the church of S. Sernin the early Renaissance, as on the church Dalbade, has placed a special show piece in the elegant portal of the south aisle. Executed in a limestone like marble, it is one of the most ornamental compositions of the time of Francis I. A high arched gateway rests on finely membered enclosing pilasters, and is flanked by a system of projecting slender little columns, whose shafts are banded and their upper parts are as if breathed on by the most subtle ornaments. In the spandrels of the arch are seen medallions with destroyed fillings, in the frieze and the high tympanum, which terminates the whole under a simple gable, extend the most delicate leaf scrolls. This beautiful portal as well as all other works there of this epoch are attributed to an excellent native artist, N. Bachelier. Also the portal of Dalbade is referred to him.

On the contrary there always belongs to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (according to an inscription erected 1611-1632) the church S. Florentin in Burgundy, department of Yonne, a building notable

by the elegant facade of the northern transverse aisle. The high and narrow gabled structure is flanked by polygonal towers and shows in three stories a decoration by Corinthian, Ionic and then again Corinthian pilasters, a magnificent cornice with consoles, an elegant portal and finely membered niches, all executed in noble and fluid treatment with good artistic feeling. It is one of those examples, where the form of the antique is more decoration, but has taste and refinement and is adapted to an entirely different mass of building.

These isolated examples to which might be added many others, suffice to give us the model of a little village church of this time. This is the church at Chambord (Fig. 90). The otherwise unpretending building is characterized by a facade, executed in the light and graceful manner of the time of Francis I. Although merely a decoration, it still is in pleasing proportions, an unusually happy elevation and the graceful execution is for consideration.

#### 102. Towers.

The less the Renaissance in France knew how to commence with the interiors of churches, the more immovably the arrangement and construction of the Gothic maintained itself against the new forms, and the more zealously occurred the endeavor to ensure to the exteriors of the churches a part of the expression of the new style. This was the case already on portals, facades and other details, as we have seen, and this attempt reached its climax on the towers. Independent works as they are, at least in their upper construction, they easily allowed themselves to be treated according to a definite system, and permitted the decorative use of antique members in a tolerably free, indeed often in a very successful manner. The plan and construction then remains mediaeval, in so far as a system of strong buttresses and lighter filling walls opened by round openings formed the basis. but meanwhile on the separate stories were placed the antique columnar orders as a decoration, and by boldly projecting cornices were obtained sharply marked horizontal divisions, and instead of the unbroken extension and diminution of Gothic towers was opposed that more pleasing movement by rhythmic divisions, which forms the ground principle of the antique elevation. Frequently the solution of the problem is unusually happy, truly artistic, and in such cases one recalls

the beautiful towers of the Romanesque time, which follow the same law of horizontal division.

But the most difficult point of the problem is found in the termination of such towers. Against the slender spires of the Gothic time the Renaissance has an easily understood dislike, that was seen in the deliberations on the completion of the tower of the cathedral of Rouen (S. 76). As in that case men sometimes decided for a flat terrace roof, so that the termination was made horizontal in the antique sense. Still the old custom was still strong enough in most cases to make a more slender ending desirable, in which the aspiring tendency appeared and provided an artistic solution. Yet even here the antique convictions made themselves felt, so that ~~xx~~<sup>not</sup> a pointed gable roof, but a softly curved line of a dome thus came into use.

The most beautiful example of such towers is indeed presented by the towers of the cathedral of Tours, whose northern one was already completed in 1507 according to an inscription on the keystone of the lantern, which the southern was finished in 1547. Still Romanesque in the lower parts, they exhibit above the nave its elevation in the splendid forms of the Renaissance, indeed in the most charming and piquant way. Original is made the transition to the octagon, when at the four angles stand elegantly membered piers, from which flying buttresses extend over to the middle structure. A perforated gallery extends around the base of this story, and a second one indicates the beginning of the next story. From thence the structure diminishes, concluding with 16 ribs like a dome, then later rising vertically like a lantern to finally end with a little dome. The decoration is of inexhaustible variety and full of graceful invention. The antique forms, fluted pilasters adorned by lozenges or arabesques, the cornices with their dentils and consoles, the friezes with their arabesques, the vase-shaped additions, all is employed in a spirit of free genius, and likewise the mediaeval elements are freely combined with them, the coffered flying buttresses, the luxuriant crockets, that are added to them as well as to both domes, the round openings with their little dividing columns, and finally the water spouts of the cornice. To these are added free sportive motives, like the 8 little columns with caps like vases, that surround the lower dome. In brief, it is

again one of those fanciful and highly original creations, in which the school of Touraine was so rich at the time of the early Renaissance. Further the north tower by its unusually early date belongs to the small number of buildings, in which the Renaissance first came into use in France.

In a no less important way occurs a stronger antique conception in another example, the towers of S. Michel at Dijon. Here the entire great facade is subjected to the Renaissance style, although the plan and subdivision entirely belong to the middle ages. Three mighty portals of almost equal height and width open in serrate round arches into as many deep porches. Their walls are formed in niches with statues, but the vaults are in tunnel form with freely treated coffers and rich ornament in relief. Very original is the idea of opening the middle vault like a dome, so that its crowning lantern projects beyond the horizontal termination of this lower story in a wonderful way. In the members of the towers (Fig. 125) the four antique orders of columns are employed with great skill, so that in this respect the building can be regarded as a model. The termination is formed by a small octagonal lantern, that freely rises directly from the upper story. The part of the facade between the two stories shows two great blind semicircular windows with tracery, but is a termination of an open gallery between Corinthian columns to mask the gable of the middle aisle.

Likewise in other provinces of France are not lacking Renaissance towers. An interesting example is shown by the church of Argentan in department of Orne. Here after the Norman way there rises on the transverse aisle a late Gothic tower; but at the north of the facade stands a greater rectangular tower with two octagonal upper stories, which ends in a dome. Then are divided by pilasters with Corinthian columns above them, and the transition from the rectangle is effected by piers and flying buttresses in mediæval fashion, but in Renaissance forms.

We recognize the change from the middle ages to the new style on the parish church of Bourq, a stately work of the early approach. When at the rebuilding of the church of Brou the parish offices were transferred to Bourq, men began the erection of an important parish church. L. van Bogenhem was appointed head master in Dec. of 1514, under whom were several master masons of the city executed the work. Arrangement and treatment plain-



plainly recall the church of Brou, only that all is made simpler, changed from the princely to the civic. The high middle aisle is there accompanied at each side by two lower side aisles, all being again covered by star vaults, except that the proportions are more slender than there. The choir has five sides of an octagon, also free pendant perforated keystones in the vaults with a fantastic effect. Skilfully wrought choir stalls with great figures of saints in low relief on the backs exhibit skilful treatment, and in the ornaments are again influences of the Renaissance.

We see here a wavering between Gothic and Renaissance, yet the latter has finally attained the victory by a very stately facade with a tower crowned by a dome. Indeed there still play mediaeval ideas in the form of the portals, particularly in the membering recalling Romanesque portals; but the three systems of coupled pilasters and half columns, that animate the buttresses, as well as the octagonal dome that terminates the tower, entirely belong to the Renaissance. On the southern portal is read the date of the year 1545.

A composition of an original stamp and executed entirely in a classical sense, is then shown by the tower on the facade of S. Batrice at Bayeux. The substructure is flanked by buttresses, which end in Doric columns. A cornice with consoles forms the termination. Then follows an upper story with Ionic columns, that includes clearly divided openings for sound. The tower then diminishes first by a story with Corinthian pilasters, above which rise two round stories on piers and opened by arches, crowned by a dome and small lantern. This is a successful experiment to compete with the diminution in the elevation of Gothic towers.

To the most original of these buildings belongs the bell tower of the church at S. Amand. (Nord). The facade rises as a mighty mass in five stories divided by systems of luxuriantly decorated pilasters and columns, also by strongly Barocco niches of the most varied forms. Bold projections at both sides are crowned by octagonal additions with classical endings, while on the further reduced middle structure rises an octagonal mass in three stories as a massive main tower, first ending in a dome, then terminating with an upper part. The entire building

is one of the most imposing of its kind, truly Flemish, dry and luxuriant, first completed in 1633.

Finally we also give an example of those mighty Norman crossing towers, that are peculiar to northern France. This is the tower of the church S. Marie du Mont at Charenton. Above a Gothic principal story rises an octagonal superstructure in two stories, terminating with an open lantern and crowned by a dome. The forms have the stamp of a sportive Renaissance.

### 103. Chapels.

The transition to a more classical and even scholastic treatment of the Renaissance is formed by several smaller works, particularly chapels, in which it was possible to diverge independently from the design and construction of the middle ages and to attain to new forms. Yet among these are not wanting often very graceful works in examples of the already frequently described mixed transition style.

To the most interesting representatives of this mixed species belongs a little chapel in S. Jacques at Rheims, of which our Fig. 126 gives a view. As this shows, mediaeval motives still determine the plan, construction of the vaults and the form of the windows; but the round arch is everywhere used, the Gothic moulded ribs of the vaults rest on antique abacuses, cornices and entablatures, that are supported by coupled Corinthian columns. What could probably not be carried out in great dimensions, here becomes in the small proportions a both graceful and piquant contrast and the expression of free grace.

A composition of highly original stamp is then the little chapel of S. Romain at Rouen (Fig. 127), that was built in 1542 in place of an old one that had fallen. It is a little building like a triumphal arch, in the ground story having merely a doorway, the principal story again opening above as a rectangle at all sides with an arch on piers. Coupled Corinthian pilasters divide the piers above and below, the termination being formed at each side by an antique gable, over whose crossed roofs rises an ornamental lantern in two opened stories. It is indeed one of the earliest dated among these lesser buildings, on which the classical world of form is purely and completely expressed.

Still more developed and thereby more richly executed is the magnificent chapel of S. Ursula in the cathedral of Toul, of

which we give a view in Fig. 128. It is there determined by documents, that bishop Hector d'Ailly, who died in 1582, founded and left it unfinished at his death, and so we possess here perhaps the earliest example of a severe domical plan like the antique on French soil. The chapel is built at the eastern end of the southern side aisle and has a rectangular plan, with an order of Doric pilasters and columns in the ground story, over this being an Ionic upper story, that in the angles by projecting columns forms the transition to the octagon and to the coffered octagonal dome in a very sensible way. The proportions are beautiful, the treatment of the forms is simple and noble, the general effect of the interior being unusually attractive. The same founder built on the northern side aisle a similar show piece, the so-called chapel of the bishops, likewise in an elegant Renaissance style.

In the great antique cemetery at Aliscamps near Arles lies a half destroyed mediæval monastery of the Romanesque period. At the southern transept it received a chapel, that is an elegant work of the best Renaissance time, a square room with elegant Corinthian columns and finely ornamented shafts placed in the angles, is terminated by a likewise richly adorned cornice with consoles and a frieze covered by magnificent acanthus scrolls. Above is developed a high vault from four ascending compartments, that still in mediæval form are connected by cross arches. They unite in a square skylight, that is crowned by a little dome. The whole originated about 1550 and is very elegant and fine.

Another similarly treated chapel beside the former is not much later. It differs from that only because it is an octagonal plan, octagonal vault and skylight, all this of allied construction, but furnished with a Doric triglyph frieze. The 8 angle columns probably belonged to the same antique order, but have disappeared to their pedestals.

About the same time the classical tendency also appears on the castle chapels, that as we have seen were previously Gothic. To the earliest examples belong the chapel built by P. de L'Orme in the park at Villars-Coterat (S. 29), as well as the two chapels that he erected at Anet (S. 68). Of the latter, the one placed in the chateau itself is indeed the first church building

in France, which develops the round Roman dome entirely in the antique sense.

#### 104. Churches in the severely classical style.

The larger city parish and monastery churches adopt the consistently developed Renaissance style only late, and preferably first where the founding or the continued interest for their erection proceeds from the court circles. One of the earliest examples of such church facades severely developed in the antique sense was given by P. de l'Orme on S. Nazier at Lyons (S. 66). But a more general result was first brought by the beginning of the 17th century, and we can designate the already considered facade of S. Etienne du Mont (S. 93, Fig. 122) as the transition to this new conception.

S. de Brosse then was the one that made the decisive advance in rebuilding of the facade of S. Gervais at Paris. Louis XIV in the year 1616 laid the corner stone of this, and the building rose rapidly. It was completed in 1621. The facade is a high structure decorated by the antique columnar orders. The columns are coupled in order to obtain a bolder effect. In the two first stories they even occur grouped by fours. A curved tympanum terminates the whole. The main portal is semicircular at top and crowned by a gable. The upper story contains two round-arched windows at the middle, in the side divisions being great niches with the statues of S. Gervasius and S. Protasius. To connect the higher middle building with the attic of the wide lower story, there are placed pieces of concave ogee arches, at whose feet stand the evangelists in groups. Likewise the terminal gable of the facade is advanced by reclining statues. On the superficial and puerile character of such a facade no further words are needed; likewise on the discord in which it stands to the interior of the entirely Gothic building. But as the matter exists, since the culture ever became more modern and turned away strongly from the middle ages, such a composition being called into existence by the hand of an important artist, must aid in the victory of the new style.

We then see this a few years later on the Jesuit church of S. Louis and S. Paul, which was begun in 1627 and completed in 1684 at the cost of Richelieu. F. Derrand, one of the many artists of the Jesuit order furnished the plans from which it was

built. On the facade again appear three orders of columns, but they have exclusively corinthian forms, that in combination with luxuriant ornamentation, especially on the friezes, introduced that coquettish style, which is characteristic for the J. Jesuits. Their love of pomp was especially well calculated, for they sought by all means to corrupt the sense of the people and to win them for themselves. In other directions these churches became epoch-making; they were the first in France that added the dome to their nave, although not in a prominent manner.

Soon followed therein the little Carmelite church in Rue de Vaudiraud, that however was still built in very moderate dimensions. Thereby was also a path broken also in France for the truly great and crowning ideas, which the Renaissance had created for church architecture. In the inexorably strict consequence of the Gothic style, in the great trend of its movement in height, the dome still finds no place for itself. The Romanesque style could adopt it and use it for beautiful effects; yet where it occurs in Gothic, the organism always suffers and the harmonious effect of the whole strictly combined together. But where it has full justification, indeed comes to the highest artistic transfiguration, is in the church architecture of the Renaissance. On the effect of the buildings indeed depends not merely the understanding, but far more the imagination, & that with full right acquires from every artistically treated interior a definite expression. Who can deny the wonderful effect of the interior of a Gothic cathedral like Amiens, Rheims, Tours and so many others? But who may estimate as less the impression of S. Peter in Rome, the expressions of the smaller and more modest domed churches of the Renaissance in Italy. Where these works have something chilly in the later epochs, this comes almost never on account of the proportions, the form of plan, the exterior in general, but only from the nearly always monotonous or overloaded form of the details.

Thus with the dome was also introduced the first more important structure of this kind, that arose at the order of Richelieu after 1635 in the church of the Sorbonne (completed 1653). Lemercier erected this building. The dome is accompanied by four little campaniles and rises over the crossing, its drum being abundantly lighted by 8 great windows. The facade of the church exhibits an order of Corinthian columns, above which

risers a likewise Corinthian order of pilasters. A simple pediment forms the termination.

In more important dimensions was erected then the dome of the monastery of Val de Grace. Anna of Austria during a long childless marriage had vowed a magnificent House of God, in case she obtained in heir to the throne. After she bore Louis XIV, she fulfilled her vow and in 1645 laid the corner stone of Val de Grace, whose church was built from the design of F. Mansard. Yet it was Lemercier, who erected the greater portion of the building, and only after 1654 was the dome completed under P. Lemuet and G. Leduc. The latter had made his studies in Rome on S. Peter, that he utilized in a fortunate way on his occasion. The effect in the interior is light and free, and the exterior, the beautiful outline and the suitable ornamentation also give harmony and grace to the exterior.

#### 105. Ornamental works.

An epoch that like the Renaissance in a high degree pursues decorative tendencies, will also undertake excellence in such works that very properly form the problem of the art of decoration. For our epoch there occurs as an aiding circumstance, that from the middle ages had been inherited a sound practice in the mastery of the different technical experiences. This skill in manual work was now developed under the inspiration of classical studies and the influence of Italy to pure beauty and elevated magnificence. Only the fault was, that even here that luxurious degeneration set in too early, which was to bring into power the Barocco style. We can emphasize in the great abundance of existing works only a few characteristic examples.

For decoration in stone are chiefly characteristic some choir screens and chapel enclosures, of which we first have to name those in Notre Dame at Rodez as works in the finest ornamental taste. The open screens are subdivided by pilasters and arches, the surfaces are all filled by precious arabesques, with medallion heads in the spandrels, and on the crowning frieze are seen genii with elegant scrolls. These works belong to the undertakings of bishop L. d'Estaing, who from 1501-1529 erected the western portion of the cathedral, and equipped the choir and chapels with a rood screen, choir stalls, grilles and a

colonnade in gilded bronze. A distinguished native artist, N. Bachelier, conducted the execution. To these also belongs the magnificent organ gallery.

Likewise in Normandy is there not wanting distinguished works of this kind. We mention the chapel enclosure of the church at Fecamp (Fig. 129) executed in magnificent early Renaissance, the similar enclosure in S. Remy at Lisieppe, but particularly the extremely noble and fine chapel enclosure in the cathedral of Evreux, that is indeed the most charming, which of this kind the early Renaissance has created in France. It assumes still some Gothic elements, and combines therewith all the Renaissance ornamentation in the most beautiful design and the finest execution.

Notable for their rich sculptured ornament are the choir enclosures of the cathedral of Chartres. They partly date from the last epoch of the middle ages, and parts bear the stamp of the late Gothic style. But in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (the dates 1611 and 1612 are read) by a skilful artist, T. Boudin, the work was continued and completed, wherein with rare devotion he sought to adhere to the style of the older parts according to his forces. The architectural ornamentation is therefore like Gothic in the general conception, but in the details and especially on the under surfaces, bears the character of an extremely fine and pleasing Renaissance, that still bears the character of the early time.

The best Renaissance style is then shown by the magnificent marble enclosure of the choir of S. Remy at Reims, which surrounds the tomb of S. Remigius. It was erected in 1537 by cardinal R. de Senoncourt, and in 1847 was completely restored.

Among the most extensive masterworks are the enclosures, that screen all chapels of the cathedral of Leou, 23 in all (Fig. 130). Excepting three somewhat earlier ones on which occurs the date of 1522, they are from the years 1574 and 1575. They exhibit great diversity, especially in the ornamentation of the lower panels and the upper parts, wherewith the Barocco cartouche work of that epoch strongly harmonizes. The subdivision is made by ornamental fluted Doric columns, between which smaller columns of the same order divide the panels. The termination is formed by an entablature with a rather dry triglypha frieze.

These interesting works are partly painted and gilded.

Of organ galleries is particularly to be named the very richly sculptured one of the cathedral of Gisors, and as further evidence of the ornamental richness of the Norman school, we finally emphasize the magnificent stairs in S. Maclou at Rouen.

A splendid altar of 1549 is found in the church of Ravenel (Isle de France), rich but rather heavily treated. Another altar in the church at Plessis-Placy is adorned by the legend of S. Magdalene by a master Theodore. In S. George in Cambray is seen a finely wrought rood screen of 1545, which is distinguished by its fine ornament. A magnificent baptismal font with charming sculptured decoration is found in the church at Magny.

Yet more luxuriant is the love of decoration of this time in the wooden work, in which the art of carving inherited from the middle ages is combined with the entire wealth of ornamental forms of the Renaissance. We first name some choir stalls, among which those of Auch still chiefly belong to the late Gothic style, but in the details of the consoles and of the misericords as in the ornaments of the cornice, adopt the forms of the Renaissance. From the year 1535 date the choir stalls in S. Bertrand de Comnenges, in the strong and most ornamental early Renaissance, but with the highest magnificence in execution. The traditional Gothic elevation with its canopies and shrines, and finials, flying buttresses and pendent keystones, with spirited freedom is translated into the forms of the Renaissance. Of special magnificence are the two bishop's seats. Richer carved decoration is added thereto, on the arms being fanciful crouching figures, on the backs are sibyls, prophets and apostles. A still more luxurious show piece is the high altar adorned by sirens and other fanciful forms, and crowned by five high canopies. In these works prevail something of the exuberance of contemporary Spanish ornamentation. Also the arrangement of the high choir in the middle of the nave recalls the customs of that country. These works with the likewise splendidly treated organ were founded by bishop J. de Mauleon.

That occasionally even in the late time elegant works of this kind were executed is then proved by the choir stalls of the cathedral of Bayeux from the year 1539, and those in S. Pierre at Toulouse, which fall in the time of Louis XIII. By a stronger



classicism are distinguished the former by the noble elevations, the graceful little Corinthian columns and the rich ornamentation of their members, while in the panels of the backs of the unsuitable fantastic crownings in the Barocco style with its lack of proportion all is overgrown. The choir stalls of S. Pierre on the contrary have in their backs a monotonous paneling, by which the magnificent open leaf scrolls of the sides are injured.

Among the carved church doors, those of the magnificent north portal of S. Maclou of Rouen merit the prize. Within beautifully conventionalized frameworks are a number of Biblical scenes. Another show piece is the southern portal of the cathedral of Beauvais in that sportive easy Renaissance, that just in ornamental works develops the most precious charm. The crowned salamander in the arabesques of the lower panels denotes the time of Francis I.

A splendid work is then the portal of S. Wulfram at Abbeville of the year 1550, by its statues of saints in Renaissance niches, by scenes from the life of the Madonna with gracefully sportive crownings and adorned by a frieze with a representation of battles. Very richly carved in the style of the early Renaissance are also the portals of the churches of S. Antoine and of S. Jacques in Compiègne. Splendid choir stalls are seen among others in the church at Coupillieres in Normandy from the year 1582, then in the church of Champeaux, for which a master palaise was called from Paris. Elegant works of this kind are also seen in S. Crepin at Chateau Thierry, 20 niches with statuettes of sibyls and virtues, enclosed by ornamental pilasters with arabesques.

Finally here is to be mentioned also the beautiful pulpit in S. Nicolas at Troyes, that in exterior, composition and treatment strikingly recalls the noble marble pulpit of B. da Majano in S. Croce at Florence. Graceful Corinthian columns with angels' heads on their shafts, that hold in their mouths little garlands, stand at the angles. The ornament throughout is with great charm, but is treated in a certain modest simplicity. Likewise the sounding board is finely arranged and nobly decorated.

We know nothing of works in bronze ornamentation to be mentioned.

## 108. Tombs.

To the most splendid undertakings of Renaissance art belong the monuments for the dead, in which prevail religious feeling and love of worldly fame, a refined love of splendor and an elevated art feeling. What the transition epoch created in this respect was described in S. 20. That also occasionally Gothic traditions played a great part herein, is proved by the incomparable mausoleum of the church at Brou with its magnificent tombs. Yet after the reign of Francis I, also in tombs the Renaissance soon attained to its rights, and there arose everywhere in competition monuments, in which the new art reached its full development. the two principal types transferred from the middle ages are the wall tomb, of which a magnificent example was already given by the monument of the cardinals of Amboise, and the isolated tomb, that consists of a more or less richly ornamented sarcophagus (tumba). The Renaissance developed from the latter the conceivably richest and highest form, when above the sarcophagus rose a kind of shrine as a canopy. On the form and decoration of these tombs a determining influence was exerted by Italian art. A stately wall tomb of the early Renaissance is the monument of duke Rene II of Lorraine, the victor over Charles the Bold, in the Franciscan church at Nancy. It exhibits a childish and helpless application of the new style, but remains entirely free from Gothic tendencies. There is seen in a rectangular flat recess the deceased in the ducal mantle kneeling on his prayer desk before the Madonna, who stands on a pedestal and holds her Child opposite him. Arabesques, shells and other Renaissance ornaments decorate the borders, which are enclosed by two short pilasters with free Corinthian capitals. On the upper frieze appear trefoil arches as the last isolated echo of the middle ages. Above is an attic with 6 little figures of saints in shell niches between fine pilasters. An inconceivably rude and ugly cavetto with angles holding arms and wonderfully curved acroterias form the termination. Between is God the Father with two angels praying to him.

A somewhat simpler monument of the same kind is that of bishop Hugues des Hazard in the church at Blemod-les-Toul, department of Meurthe. Yet according to the custom of the middle ages the deceased here lies stretched out on his cushion, and above

him is seen a rare occurrence in such places, the figures of the 7 free arts, while on the plinth are placed figures of mourners that hold a band with the inscription:- "Born, labor, die". The architectural enclosure is within the forms of the early Renaissance, in which however the mediaeval conception still plays.

A beautiful example of these wall tombs is the monument of cardinal Hemard of the year 1548 in the cathedral at Amiens, below with pilasters and above with statuettes of virtues in the wide niche flanked by pilasters, within which the deceased kneels before his prayer desk. Original and richly executed in the cathedral of S. Omer is the tomb of Sidrach de Lalaing of the year 1534, made by G. Moncier. It is placed between two piers of the choir aisle and is supported by a magnificent console, that rests on a column. The very elegant monument bears throughout the character of the early time. Also there is the fine tomb of bishop Eustache de Croy of the year 1533, the work of a master J. du Broeucq. One of the most ornamental of such monuments is the wall tomb in the church of Maimelay, and it stands on two elegant consoles on an Ionic column, not unlike that of S. Omer. In a truly French conception appears above the inscription tablet two grinning skeletons as busts. A detached tomb in the noble style of the finest early Renaissance is the monument of Charles de Lalaing in the museum at Douay, formerly in the abbey de Pres of the year 1558. On a sarcophagus of black and white marble, adorned by little Corinthian pilasters with medallions between them, is seen an expressive knightly form lying extended. In the medallions are represented busts of allegorical figures of the virtues. Another monument is preserved in the choir aisle of the cathedral at Narbonne, which belongs to the most elegant works of this kind. Between the northern piers of the choir is built a small bishop's tomb of the early Renaissance, which in its modest grace is very attractive (Fig. 131). Arranged as a wall tomb, its back is attached to the enclosing wall of the choir. Two slender ringed columns with Corinthian capitals, between them being a decorated pier with a similar capital, stand on a richly ornamented substructure and bear an entablature, whose frieze has between little columns winged heads of angels alternating with skulls

of the dead. As if to more sharply accent the contrast of this wonderful ornamentation, the angels' heads are represented with the chubbiest possible cheeks. Likewise the plinth of the substructure exhibits skulls, skeletons of hands and similar bones forming an unlovely ornamentation. More pleasingly is the sarcophagus decorated, which contains between graceful baluster columns statuettes of mourners, such as frequently occur on French monuments under the name of "weepers". The figure of the deceased, which the sarcophagus doubtless bore, was probably destroyed in the Revolution.

At its full height was developed the tomb of the Renaissance first in the monument of Louis XII and his wife Anne of Brittany in the church of S. Denis (Fig. 132), which was completed about 1513. It was probably J. Juste of Tours that designed and executed this beautiful work. It consists of a structure like a canopy, that rises above a high plinth, opening at the ends with two, at the sides with four arches on piers. The entire work is executed in white marble. On the substructure in picturesquely treated reliefs are scenes from the Italian campaign, particularly the battle of Agnadel and the entry of the king into Genoa. In the openings of the arches are seated the marble statues of the 12 apostles. On the platform of the canopy kneel before their prayer desks the lifesize figures of the royal pair. Then these lie on frightful truth to life as nude corpses extended on the sarcophagus, which is enclosed by the arches. The architectural forms of the monument are of entire grace, the pilasters with free and charmingly varied Corinthian capitals, their shafts with elegant arabesques, the spandrels of the arches with genii and emblems, the soffits of the arches being adorned by coffers. Magnificent coffers with beautiful rosettes also subdivide the internal ceiling of the precious little structure.

Likewise the wall tomb soon received its greatest development in the monument, that Diane of Poitiers caused to be erected in 1535-1544 to her deceased husband L. de Breze in the cathedral of Rouen. It is found in the middle aisle of the choir and opposite the Amboise tomb. Its style lays aside the free ornamentation of the early Renaissance to gain effect by a more important expression and stronger use of antique forms. The composition of the whole is not without grandeur, and is elegant

and snowy. It consists of a flat recess in the wall, that is enclosed below by coupled Corinthian columns on high plinths. These bear an entablature decorated by masks, festoons of fruits and eagles. Above this cornice rises a second order composed of caryatids boined in pairs and picturesquely treated, that enclose a great arched niche with the equestrian statue of the deceased. In the spandrels are carved victories with palms and laurel garlands, and the frieze consists of a composition of victories bestowing garlands, winged lions and vases. Over the cornice is erected as a termination of the whole a shrine enclosed by Composite columns, within which sits the allegorical form of Virtue. Acroteras at the angles with weapons form the crowning, connected by ogee volutes with the middle shrine. After the custom of the time and the country, there also seen here on the sarcophagus filling the niche, the nude extended form of the dead only partly covered by a shroud. The surface above it is animated by two tablets with inscriptions in Barocco frames of cartouches work and festoons of fruits. At the head of the dead and behind the columns of the enclosure kneels his praying wife in widow's weeds; opposite her on the other side stands the Madonna, holding forth the Child consolingly in her arms. The entire work is executed in alabaster and black marble with the use of rich gilding. Nothing definite is known of its master, but much speaks for J. Goujon.

We are better instructed on the origin of the grand monument, which Henry II caused to be erected after 1555 for Francis I and his wife Claude in the church of S. Denis. It is one of the finest works of P. de l'Orge, who not merely designed it, but also supervised its execution. Entirely constructed of white marble, it surpasses in grandeur all earlier works, also particularly the neighboring monument of Louis XII. On it is characteristic for the change in views after about 1540, for instead of covering all its surfaces by ornamental arabesques as in the early Renaissance, it develops the architectural forms and lines in severer purity and rejects the aid of sculpture except in the domain of independent figure ornament. Thereby with all richness the impression becomes more esthetic, and the general effect gains in dignity and grandeur, that best corresponds to the monumental importance of a sepulchral monument.

The ground form is similar to that of the monument of Louis XII; two sarcophaguses with extended corpses of the royal pair, enclosed and covered by an arched structure like a canopy. Since its ceiling is not flat but consists of a tunnel vault, there is required stronger abutments, which are arranged in the form of massive piers with projecting columns. Four main piers are arranged in a rectangle and connected by great round arches that form the middle portion. At lesser distances correspond to these in the length and breadth of the monument the angle piers, connected at the ends by balustrades, with the middle piers by small and lower arches, so that the monument exhibits a cross shaped plan, with the form of a triumphal arch on all sides. The columns as well as the entablatures and cornices are executed in the richest Ionic style, the slender columns are fluted, all members being adorned in a refined and animated way by the corresponding antique ornaments. But the figure sculpture takes the chief part in the richer effect. The plinth of the entire monument with the stylobates of the columns is covered by miniatures in a fully picturesque style, of representations of battles of Francis I, particularly those of Marignano and of Cerissoles. On the spandrels of the great arches are carved soaring genii, but especially the great tunnel vault is ornamented by low reliefs of the evangelists as well as of allegorical virtues and soaring genii, and the separate panels receive a framework of wide interwoven bands in the noblest style, with rosettes in the openings. These reliefs were executed by G. Pilon, and the reclining forms of the royal pair were by P. Bontemps. On the top of the monument kneel in prayer the lifesize figures of the king and queen with their two sons.

According to the model of this grand work Catherine de Medici caused a similar monument to be erected for herself and her deceased husband Henry II, also at St. Denis. Like that it is entirely executed in marble, and the design for it is sometimes attributed to de l'Orme, sometimes to Bullant or even to Primaticcio. The arrangement is the same; on a sarcophagus are seen the extended corpses of the royal pair. Twelve columns of dark marble with Composite capitals bear the arched structure, on top of which are placed Henry II and Catherine in lifesize bronze figures and kneeling. On the whole the architecture is dryer, colder and of heavier forms, the entablature is broken

over the columns; between the latter are openings like windows in the separate panels. On the base are placed marble reliefs by G. Pilon, and at the angles of the structure rise on projecting pedestals the bronze figures of the four cardinal virtues.

This is the last great tomb monument of the French Renaissance. With the beginning of the 17 th centure penetrates here that picturesque conception, that makes the tomb nothing more than theatrical scenes, in the best case being living portraits. Of such kind is the tomb of Richelieu in the church of the Sorbonne, where the cardinal is extended on the sarcophagus and sustained half upright by the figure of Faith, while inconsolable France laments at his feet. Of such a kind is in the museum of Versailles the monnument of the duke of Rohan, about whom two genii are engaged, one of them supporting his head, while the other lamenting, wraps his ducal mantle around him. By such ingenious inventions, which chiefly belong to the painters of the time, is the architecture mutilated.

## Chapter X. Art industries of the epoch.

## 107. General character.

It is readily understood, that with such a rich bloom as the French Renaissance developed, a no less splendid treatment of the various art industries was connected. The love of splendor in the court and by the great likewise stands here in the first line as an impelling motive, and Francis I gave the tone for the entire surroundings, Henry II as well as the succeeding monarchs following in his footsteps. Perhaps never in modern times has the external appearance of men in clothing and ornaments, in the form of the living rooms, has been treated as nobly and full of style as then. How very much the influence of Italy determined this, how the impressions already received there under Charles VIII and Louis XII led to a transformation in French views, which then soon had as a result the invitation of Italian artists, has been shown in the first Chapter. While now for the development of architecture those foreign influences were scarcely in any way important, since the national opinions, customs and habits, reacted too strongly against the foreign forms, there cannot be denied in the accessory arts, and especially in the art industries a strong Italian influence. For goldsmith's work the calling of a master like B. Cellini was without question of epochal importance. Majolica received a first impulse by the calling of G. della Robbia, who by his colored and glazed terra cotta tiles of floors, friezes and medallions of arcades, as well as the coffers of the portico ceilings at chateau Madrid and also later at Fontainebleau entrusted to him for decoration. For the magnificent armor were employed the famous Milanese smiths; but we know also, that German makers of armor were frequently employed by the French court, that especially J. Seusenhofer of Innsbruck was called by Francis I, and that perhaps also H. Wülich also supplied designs for Francis I and Henry II.

Thus is proved for many branches of technique a foreign influence of foreign work, so there is likewise to be assumed and proved frequent cooperation of native artists and mechanics. But in general in many branches of art industry a specifically French treatment cannot be asserted; French ornamental articles were composed and executed in the same manner, and especially with the entire charm of colored enamels, the gleam of pearls,



the sparkle of gems, like the German works; weapons and armor as in Germany received by etching, niellos and inlays, the incomparable stamp of the most perfect art and of ornamental splendor. Only one thing is to be noted, that under the influence of the buyer, of an art-loving court and splendor-loving princes with the aid of the special French sense for perfection of form, grace and refinement of these works, and particularly distinguished also the graceful character was obtained, and that also the figure has full freedom and charm. But for the ornamental composition in the most diverse domains was Italian art most influential by the school of Fontainebleau, that first introduced the so-called grotesques of Italian high Renaissance into the north, which then with its strange, frequently gaudy and overloaded combinations of garlands, festoons of fruits, masks, fantastic fabulous beings, emblems, instruments and the like, soon found its way into Germany. In France also the harmonious and noble ornamentation of the early Renaissance, substantially based on beautifully drawn foliage with sparingly scattered figures, was earlier supplanted by that varied mixture then elsewhere in the north. Examples of these tendencies and of the contests of them with each other have been already sufficiently shown above in the consideration of book illustrations in S. 7.

Where then the French industrial arts are carefully compared with those of other countries and especially with those of Germany, since there is here required no thorough description, but only a reference to what is stated in Chapter III of the history of the German Renaissance; I shall limit myself here to those branches of activities in the art industries, wherein France has succeeded in its own undertakings.

#### 108. Joinery and carving.

The beginning may be made by a consideration of artistic woodwork, that in France exhibits very remarkable peculiarities. Certainly of the equipment concerned of the chateaus, the paneled wainscots, carved ceiling, artistic doors etc., infinitely much was destroyed by the storms of the Revolution, yet in public collections, particularly in Cluny museum, is preserved much that is valuable, and the same is true of the furniture of the time. I recall the wooden stairway of the palace of

Justice, richly carved with the arms of Henry IV and of Maria de Medici, now in Cluny museum, the carved wardrobe from the chateau of Montaigne, and the beautiful wardrobe of walnut wood on the time of Henry II and in the same collection. The peculiar preference for French works of this kind is based on the clarity of the composition and the genuine wooden style, which never falls into the imitation of stone construction predominating in German works. Thus to the French works of this kind is peculiar a sound principle and a deeper understanding of the expression of form suited for woodwork. As an illustration we give the representation of a house door from Blois (Fig. 183), that exhibits these advantages in the most charming manner. It might be said, that here the spirit of mediaeval construction was deeply absorbed into the spirit of the nation and reacts here, celebrating its resurrection in the forms of the new style. For it is clear, how structurally intelligent is the design of the whole, the subdivision and membering by a modest and yet effective framework, how happy is the filling of the surfaces of the little panels, the frieze, spandrels and the tympanum by ornaments, whose basal harmony is a softly drawn and sculptured finely animated foliage, while the figures at suitable places appear as the blossom of the whole. Thus the whole has a rich effect yet without overloading, and is also dignified. The cartouche work of the beginning high Renaissance in a wise reserve is only used on the upper panels of the door.

Similar advantages are throughout peculiar to the furniture design of the French Renaissance. Clear design and construction, suitable subdivision, tasteful distribution of the ornaments, with a calculated for drawing and execution in relief for the technics of wood carving, compose the advantages of French furniture. Instead of the dry formalism of late Gothic appears the fully animated ornament of the Renaissance, particularly in its refined foliage scrolls. At first still prevails a dryer treatment, that with the then commencing use of oak wood comes from the middle ages. But soon in place of this dryer material the more suitable walnut wood, permitting the greatest refinements of the carving tools. Gradually are also introduced the antique orders of columns with their cornices and friezes, gables, hermes and caryatids, however transformed in a manner

corresponding to the wooden style. At first men indeed loved to use Corinthian paneled pilasters with leaf ornaments on the short shafts. Especially in the northern schools, in Normandy, Picardy and Flanders, these stumpy forms prevail. On the contrary in Île de France the influence of Montaigne made itself felt, the furniture received a slender exterior, elegant members and fine slightly projecting mouldings. Furniture ever passed more out of the hands of joiners into those of architects and carvers. Masters like Goujon and du Cerceau made their influence felt. To this was added rich picturesque relief ornament with inlaid work, intarsias, marble slabs, enamel paintings and other colored accessories, whereby an extremely elegant general effect was often produced. As a characteristic example of this kind serves the wardrobe represented in Fig. 134.

Substantially different is formed the furniture of the Burgundian school, in whose general form the treatment of the details penetrates something of southern luxuriance, the exterior is broader and more massive, the membering is more prominent, the fine little columns are replaced by strongly animated hermes and caryatids, and even sometimes such figures occur in three stories, wherein is recognized a special Burgundian element. All forms and projections are bolder, the foliage ornament is especially with flowing luxuriance, and in the panels are seen reliefs with daringly animated forms of horsemen and soldiers. Of an allied kind is the furniture in the South and especially in Lyons, constructed with like massiveness, widely arranged and decorated by splendid richness, yet always in the good period being subdivided and graduated with refined intelligence.

Until the end of the 16th century French furniture substantially retained its beautiful and stylish character, remaining far from Barocco excesses, that already early overcame the furniture in Germany. First under Louis XIII heavy dryness in the elevation and overloading in the members, and particularly cartouche work overcame the decoration, the slender columns became twisted, and plain as well as figure ornaments became stumpy and without feeling. Thereby this epoch reached its ending.

109. Pottery; terra cottas and stoneware.

Also in the domain of pottery France quite early remained

faithful to the mediaeval tradition, and when the new forms gradually entered it from Italy, men adhered yet for a time to the inherited traditional technics, so that the green copper glaze and the lead glaze for a time prevailed against the tin glaze. On these works, as for example the vessels from Beauvais and Normandy, the green, brown and white produce a harmonious agreement of colors. How long this technics prevailed, among other examples is proved by a green glazed hunting jug from the Louvre, that is ornamented by masks, lions' heads and the arms of Montmorency (Fig. 135). A chief locality for the fabrication of these works was already since the 14<sup>th</sup> century the city of Beauvais, whose potter: was characterized by a pale green tone, and occurs until the time of Louis XIII. Even Rabelais mentions in Pantagruel these vessels, and in Panurge the blue vessels of Savignies. Besides those places, Saintes, Rennes, La Chapelle des Pots, and then in southwest France is Sairac near Bordeaux, notable as places of the fabrication of such pottery.

The introduction of the Renaissance first occurred by Italian artists, who settled in France and brought into use the Italian majolica. Thus we already know that Francis I called G. della Robbia for the decoration of his chateau Madrid. However beside these foreign works there continued the french pottery in its earlier technics, and contemporary taste made a concession in the acceptance of the new forms. How closely this approached the Italian sometimes is shown by the beautifully glazed tiles, by which the chateau at Ecouen was ornamented, and of which we now know, that they were made by a native artist, m. Absquesne belonging to Normandy. But it is also known that this master made glazed vessels. A rich selection of french floor tiles is found in the museum at Sevres, as well as in the Louvre and Cluny museums. (Fig. 136). In the division and ornamentation of these tiles, which consists of leaf scrolls, garlands and medallions, appears the entire charm of the early Renaissance. Here belong also the glazed floor tiles of the chateau chapel at Oiron, that have greenish black linear ornaments on a pale red ground, on which are the brightly colored family arms. A special and characteristic peculiarity for France are the gable points, weathercocks, ridge tiles and other roof ornaments, t

that lent a very picturesque charm to the French buildings of that time, especially in Normandy.

To the chief places of the manufacture of French faience further belongs Avignon, whose dark brown vessels, mugs and vases, bowls and dishes, table ware etc., exhibit a richer ornamentation with open reliefs in a yellow tone, especially masks and the like. Similar are the vessels from Clermont-Ferrand, yet their color is darker and the ornaments are netted. Extremely rich and with splendid relief ornament in rich colors are executed the works of F. Briot, who about the middle of the 16th century lived in Paris, some of whose show pieces are known. (Fig. 137).

French stoneware is in great part similar to the German, made in gray color with blue ornaments. As the principal sources are again designated Beauvais and Sauvignies. In the ornamentation French stoneware remains far behind the German in the richness and fullness of imagination, and especially scarcely knows the ornamentation by figures so favored there. Mostly there is found on these vessels only flower ornaments, especially lilies, besides cosettes, garlands and arms (Fig. 138).

#### 110. B. de Palissy.

The most famous among the masters of French pottery, B. de Palissy, was born about 1510 at La Chapelle-Brion in Perigord. This industry then already by glass painting was of high artistic importance, yet did not satisfy the zealous young man, who in his leisure hours engaged in the study of geometry and perspective, and sought to develop himself further in drawing, painting and modeling. After his apprentice years he wandered through France, Flanders and the Rhine provinces, and he even knew how to acquire more extensive knowledge by the study of natural history and especially of chemistry. Thus as a true artist of the Renaissance he obtained the basis for that general scientific education, which he later embodied in his writings. When he returned home in 1539 from his years of wandering and settled at Saintes, where he founded a family for himself, he was most strongly impressed by the sight of a faience cup, and was induced to make his own experiments, that particularly led to the display of a white glaze. Touching is the story of the heavy cares, the bitter disappointments, which res-

resulted for him by all these experiments. In spite of want in which he worked, of the reproaches of his wife and the warnings of his friends, he continued with iron resolution and unbroken courage his experiments. After the greatest sacrifices and resignation, he finally succeeded in the exhibition of the glaze, which thereby began for him the epoch of his glory. Later the great artist wrote to Antoine des Ponts:— "I have found grace before God, who has caused me to learn secrets, heretofore unknown to men". His first works were the so-called pieces termed rustic figulines (Fig. 139, which by their entirely novel originality quickly excited general astonishment, and forthwith brought him orders from Henry II and Catherine de Medici as well as other prominent personages. Since like several of the most important artists of the time, Palissy was a Protestant, when the fanatical persecutions commenced he suffered the severest oppression, which resulted in the destruction of his house and his workshop and nearly caused his death. Only by his call to Paris in the service of the king was he relieved from persecution, and by the command of the queen mother he must erect a workshop for himself on the place where the Tuileries was built later, in which he was frequently visited by Catherine de Medici. Besides he opened lectures on physics and general natural sciences, by which he knew how to attract the learned circles of the capital. But in spite of the protection by the highest personages, the faithful Protestant at a great age in 1538 was thrown into the Bastille, where Henry III repeatedly visited him in order to convert him, which endeavor the steadfast artist rejected with scorn. He was indeed saved from the scaffold, but the weak king permitted him to languish long in prison. He died in 1589.

Among his works are those mentioned above, that as most peculiar brought him the highest fame. They are now closely imitated by round and oval dishes (Fig. 139), that as show pieces covered by extremely natural imitations in relief of snakes, lizards, fishes, crawfish, shells and the like, on a ground decorated by leaves of all kinds and partly representing flowing water sometimes. There is no question that this naturalism opposes severe style principles, yet the technical execution in the extraordinary truth to not merely the forms, but also

especially the colors and the equally splendid, mild and harmonious general tone merits strong astonishment. In an allied naturalistic treatment then also tankards were executed, which were entirely covered by shells or leaves, and also separate animals like lizards, frogs and crawfish (Fig. 140).

Palissy did not stop with this rustic mode of decoration. For more conventional are those dishes, that exhibit a border adorned by the most beautiful Renaissance ornaments, only containing perhaps a single lizard in the middle panel, that rises from the brown, blue and white ground like marble (Fig. 141). Moreover the stay in Paris and the view of the numerous art works there was required in a high degree for the taste of this spirited and thoughtful artist, so that he now adorned his works by splendidly colored reliefs of mythological, allegorical and historical representations, in which he shows himself under the influence of Italian art. (Fig. 142). Also here the colored effect by the blue, yellow and gray tones generally employed by him, to which are added green, violet and brown in the second line, is as splendid as harmonious, and the execution is of the highest perfection to the least details (Fig. 143). Finally there are also dishes treated by him for pure ornament, that are in perforated work and decorated by interwoven bands, foliage and masks, with borders mostly formed of ornamental garlands of flowers. The great artistic care with which the distinguished master proceeded, caused him to destroy every defective piece, especially his early imperfect experiments. Hence the real works by him are recognized by the high perfection of the technical execution.

#### 111. The faience of Oiron.

An entirely peculiar place among the works of French pottery is taken by the faience of Oiron, formerly termed the faience of Henry II. These are those precious and mostly small vessels of fine clay covered by lead glaze with incomparably rich and elegant decorations by delicate and mostly yellow ochre or brown overlays, with interlaced bands, flowers and foliage scrolls, but also with arms, masks, lizards, and fanciful figures. On the origin of these magnificent and precious works, only in modern times was the veil removed by B. Fillon. We now know, that at the chateau of Oiron in Poitou Helene de Hangest, after

widow of A. Gouffiers, herself executed these charming works with the aid of her potter, F. Carpentier and her secretary, J. Bernart. Thus we have to do with a dilettante, who indeed exhibits an unusually elevated artistic feeling. Her husband was likewise a highly cultivated man, went to Italy with Louis XII and later was appointed by the king as steward of the dauphin, later Francis I. His widow received from Francis I the task of educating his son, afterwards Henry II. When she did not remain at court, she occupied after 1524 her chateau of Oiron, where she died in 1537. After her death the fabrication of faience was continued under her son Claude, for in 1538 in the accounts of the family occur J. Bernart with two painters and a boy.

Three epochs in the fabrication of this faience can be distinguished. The first and at the same time most excellent was limited to the life of Helene Gouffiers, and the pure taste which then prevailed in the creations then produced, exhibit sufficient evidence of the refined art feeling of the lady, who evidently busied herself with pottery only as an amateur. Doubtless these finely conventionalized vessels originated from recollections of the show vessels existing in Fontainebleau. Their decorations exhibit some relation to ornaments in metal, and the interwoven bands remind one of the bookbinding of that time (Fig. 144). The vessels are distinguished by the soft yellow of the ground, from which boldly rise the ornaments in a dark brown tone. The sparingly occurring colors elsewhere are light brown, brownish red and black, belonging to the same scale, and lend to these works the character of earnest dignity. In this respect the best of this faience indeed excels all produced in this domain elsewhere in the time of the Renaissance; on this is based its entire distinguished rank. Besides these interlaced bands and knots the ornaments consist of finely conventionalized flowers, branches with leaves and perforated hearts, and partly in the most ornamental way are composed of separate points. Figures are only occasionally represented by masks or also even by a lizard. Also are found the arms of the Gouffiers and of families connected with them, which already indicates that the vessels were indeed exclusively intended for gifts. The exteriors of these precious works exhibit the



most refined taste, where the large quiet surfaces were composed of well distributed motives, so that the whole generally has a beautifully animated contour. All is treated in accordance with the material employed, and especially the handles and outlet pipes have the broad and bold character required by pottery.

With the death of Helene Gouffier begins the second epoch of fabrication, which lasted until the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The refined character, the classical stamp of the first period gives place to a dryer treatment more architectural in the general form and more overloaded by ornament. Here are recognized the love of show of the time and especially the influence of Claude Gouffier, who sought to excel the plain harmonious beauty of the earlier works. Also J. Bernart no longer appears in the accounts, which indicates a changed artistic leadership. The elevations of the vessels under the influence of the architecture of the time approach the Barocco; wonderful in particular are the pilasters and buttresses, by which the vessels are frequently enclosed, and this is especially true of the saltcellars, that are developed in the form of little buildings (Fig. 45). The ornamentation also moves in other tones, while the forms are partly black on white, partly alternating in white on black grounds, but the garlands are glazed in green. On these vessels are more frequently found the arms of France and of Montmorency, besides various royal emblems, especially the salamander of Francis I and particularly the half moon and monogram of Henry II, the last of which formerly gave occasion for the name of "faience of Henry II". Sometimes is also found the goose as an emblem of Oiron. Tiles from the floor of the chapel of Oiron likewise belong to this epoch and were already mentioned above.

The third period commences about 1562, when C. Gouffier left Oiron to escape the persecutions of the Huguenots, which was entirely destroyed in 1563. In this brief time fall the last works, that visibly allow to be recognized an abrupt decline in the technics. These works were probably made for sale by persons that had know how to obtain the material for the workshop. These last works are made quite carelessly and rudely, the mugs, pitchers, dishes, table ware and salt cellars are

formed with the refined rhythm, the ornaments are unskillfully distributed and treated without delicacy, the colors are frequently inharmonious and impure.

Altogether about 5 pieces of Orion faience are known, whose value has recently risen so high, that not long since a biberon was purchased for 27,500 francs for the Kensington museum. This also possesses 6 examples, the Jouve and the collection of A. de Rothschild each have 7, and the others are mostly found in private collections in England and France.

#### 112. The faience of Nevers.

To the art love of a distinguished noble, E. de Gonzaga, a relative of Catherine de Medici, who was made Duke of Nivernois by the king, the majolica fabrication of Nevers owes its splendid elevation. Indeed the apparent founders of the workshop, as are regarded the three brothers Conrade, have recently been deprived of that prominent position with justice; still it is not to be doubted that the duke as a great friend of art soon after 1565, the year of his marriage to Henriette de Cleves, one of the three graces at the court of Charles IX, brought in Italian artists to whom is also due the introduction of the technics of majolica. These Italians adhered to the style of their country, and it was especially the majolica of Urbino, whose technics was imitated. As there is also found here in the early works of Nevers those favorite mythological representations, tritons and nereids, loves, etc., but soon as the first French workers were employed, this style experienced a substantial transformation. Characteristic is particularly the coloring, and especially the bluish green, that characterizes the works of Nevers. Then it is to be noted, that the yellow ground tones are as on the Italian majolica, and especially that yellow ochre is not so generally used. Furthermore it is to be considered, that the figures are mostly painted yellow on a blue ground, and that red does not occur. Otherwise the coloring sometimes excels the Italian, but on the contrary the drawing remains far beneath the Italian. In the decoration swans as symbols of the family of Cleves play a great part; sometimes are seen cupids riding on swans, then again are sways scattered over the blue ground. Of the charm of this decoration and the grace of these vessels a vase from the museum of Nevers

gives an idea. (Fig. 146). Besides vessels of this kind are found in particular in Cluny museum and in the Fontaine collection.

A particular species are the splendid imitations of Persian vases, that in beauty and technical perfection belong to the most excellent works of their kind. Instead of figure representations, these are here treated with the most refined feeling for nature, and yet at the same time came into use very stylistically conceived flowers of Persian ornamentation, that rise from a deep azure blue, or sometimes a yellow ground (Fig. 147). Most beautiful in effect with their splendid gleam of the glaze are the vases decorated by white on a blue ground. The same character, but in forms freer and nobler and approaching the Italian Renaissance, is borne by the glazed floor tiles from the ducal palace, that are seen in the museum at Nevers, grandly drawn and animated by birds and white scrolls on a blue ground (Fig. 148).

Besides these tendencies is obtained a separate style, that combines Italian motives, especially mythological representations with oriental ornaments. Soon afterward the Dutch taste and the Chinese-Japanese style enters into the decoration and leads to developments, which lie outside the scope of our consideration.

### 118. Limoges enamels.

To the most precious show pieces, that the skill of the French industrial arts have created, now belong also in the first line the creations of Limousine enamel painters. Enamels in the Renaissance time make a development similar to that of glass painting. Both are from the beginning from mosaic technics, that produced its picturesque works by little colored bits set beside each other in a toilsome arrangement. With the beginning of modern times there also entered into these species of art a new movement, the endeavor for a freer treatment, from higher purely artistic effects. Each of these technics then proceeds to become a free art. This occurs in enamels, with fusible colors painted on a fusible ground, whereby the metal is entirely concealed, only being a ground for use like the wood or linen of easel paintings. No question that this process of transformation was perfect in harmony with and probably even under the precedence of glass painting. Limoges was already famous in the

middle ages for its enamels, was also now the seat of this art and soon became so widely famous, for example that rich families of Nuremburg ordered from them their costly table ware, as then in the Tucher family one of these is still preserved from that time.

The course of development here proceeded the same as in all other arts in the Renaissance time; it began with church works, soon to pass almost entirely into the service of secular life. In the 15th century, in the second half of which the enamels of Limoges experienced this elevation, the chief problems consisted of those little hinged altars (triptychs), which in prominent circles served as traveling altars. These works competed in splendor, strong lighting and magnificence of color with the famous creations of the Flanders school of painters; but it is even to be emphasized here, that the works in this technics scarcely ever, as too well known, could attain the high rank of entirely free art creations, and that rather the limits of the industrial arts mostly restricted them. As for what concerns the technics of this work, the artists incised the outlines of their work with a needle in the plate of metal, which was to be covered by a thin transparent layer of enamel. Then the outlines were raised by a dark enamel color, just as in glass painting the drawing is marked by bold outlines. In the character of the earlier painting the details of the picture were simply lifted in with strong colors and without shading, the lights alone being made effective by inlaid gold. The nude portions received a violet tone with applied white lights, and finally were added little melted drops in the spirit of the earlier art of precious stones and pearls on the garments and other parts of costumes. This archaic style of art, which chiefly by the works of the older J. Penicaud, but also by those of the younger master of this name, at least made at the beginning of his course, are nowise related to the influence of Italian art, but rather and even more in figures are under the sway of the northern, particularly of the art of Flanders. At most occurs on the enclosures the Renaissance ornament of the early time. A beautiful example of this tendency of art is represented in color on plate 40 of the collection Basilewsky.

As soon as the new style also permeated this art, there was

completed a transformation not merely in form, but also in the technics. The copper was now covered by a thick layer of black or dark enamel, on which men now painted with thick white color, while the transition in the shaded parts was made partly by more thinly applied white, and partly attained by hatching. Only the nude portions were laid with a flesh tone, and frequently golden lights were inlaid. These so-called grisailles, painted in gray on gray, that are in close alliance with the similarly treated grisailles of glass painting, are artistically without question the most charming and most perfect that this technics has produced. The effect is still increased when ornamental bands with golden scrolls on black ground, frequently bordered by narrower white bands with gold ornaments, enclose and subordinate the surfaces. Still are not wanting also in this time enamels with full polychrome effect, which by the rich gradation of the colors, by light and shade, and the entire scale of magnificent tones, to which the highest effect is given by the inserted golden lights, compete on one hand with the fully developed glass painting of the time, on the other with the oil painting of the Flanders school. One of the grandest show pieces of this kind is the oval shield of the year 1555 in the gallery of Apollo of the Louvre, marked by the monogram A. C. In the middle is the form of Minerva with spear and the Medusa shield, rather stiff in a likewise stiffly drawn landscape, surrounded by a dry cartouche border with precious stones, that is animated by a frightfully ugly mask with male and female hermes, also showing splendidly painted festoons of flowers and fruits. The technical treatment is indeed one with great mastery.

With this transformation of technics goes a change in form and meaning. The enamel occurs almost exclusively in the service of secular life, for it is chiefly employed to ornament its vessels and utensils with the charm of its colors and forms. Shields, dishes, mugs, candlesticks and the like are henceforth the principal objects of this splendid art, that on many of these vessels, like dishes, plates, etc., has to entirely decorate the inner and outer sides. Further plaques with enamel paintings were employed to ornament little caskets, chests, tables etc. With a correct feeling for style the vessel is formed

with large quiet surfaces with slight divisions in relief, to afford as much play as possible for the painting (Fig. 149). Thus the same law is in force here, that was also observed in the antique painted vases. Then the metallic style brings with it a fine accenting of certain developments and peculiarities, such as the handles and the spout, which are intelligible. On the surfaces so obtained the enameler places his paintings, while he alternates the principal compositions with ornamental borders. As for the representations of Figures, they extend over the entire domain of classical mythology and history, but also Biblical scenes of the Old and New Testaments. As starting points first serve the compositions of Dürer and of the German little masters, but these are soon supplanted by the Italians, and not merely Raphael's creations come into use, but also the masters of Fontainebleau, Rosso and Primaticcio, furnish designs for the enameler. Later came into use also the compositions of du Cerceau, de Bry, of V. Solis, etc. But in certain cases artists like L. Limosin also work from their own designs.

All writers that have treated of these works, apply themselves exclusively to descriptions of figure compositions, as if those works permit the importance of independent art works. We have already emphasized, that these can be mentioned only exceptionally; on the contrary the main thing is the decorative character, passed over almost in silence by all these authors. And yet just on this point is based the peculiar charm and value of such works. Variety in the use of the ornamental elements is extremely great. For example on mugs are laurel wreaths, ornamental wreaths of flowers, rows of leaves, antique egg mouldings or interwoven bands, which decorate the separate members, the foot and the neck, as well as the separating bands. Similar ornaments are shown by the saltcellars, candlesticks and the like. But the highest charm appears on the dishes, bowls and shields. There the main surfaces in the inside is reserved for a figure composition. But a band extends around the edge, that on a black ground combines with the most varied intentions of the sportive Renaissance art; scrolls which at one side end in acanthus leaves, at the other in genii, figures of animals and masks (Fig. 150). The cartouche work is but sparsely employed in the earliest and most beautiful of these works, as for

inscription tablets. The transition from this border to the sunken inner surface always forms a narrow band with noble scroll ornaments on a black ground. In many cases of round plates or dishes the middle is saved for a portrait, with a narrow white border decorated by gold, outside which again lies a wider black band with gold ornaments, itself being separated from the other surfaces by a narrow white stripe with gold decoration. Thus on a noble dish by P. Reymond of the year 1553 in the Basilewsky collection at Paris (Fig. 151). Thereby is however not exhausted by much the domain of this ornamentation, but rather is drawn upon all that the Renaissance has invented, in order to create for these works the highest decorative richness. Here belong especially those strange fabulous beings, in which often appear the fantasies of a Höllebrügel. Thus with the unusual charm of a sparkling imagination on an oval dish by J. Comtois in the possession of Prince Lichtenstein at Vienna, and further on a splendid round bowl by Pa Reymond from the year 1553 and on a magnificent plate by the same artist in the gallery of Apollo of the Louvre. In all these cases, the representation of the chief picture may be polychrome or a grisaille, but the alternation of gold ornaments on a black ground with graceful ornaments on a white ground is extremely charming, and proves that these artists with entire safety knew how to dominate the entire effect. But as the last and nowise most beautiful of these decorative elements is to be termed the cartouche work, that occurs about the middle of the century. However where it is combined with figures, masks, hermes and the like, white is to be happily combined with leaf scrolls and fruit festoons, since frequently a high ornamental charm is attained. Thus on the back of an oval dish by F. Courtoys of the year 1553 in the national museum at Munich, which represents Hercules in combat with the Nemean lion in a rich cartouche border (Fig. 152), while on the inside is to be seen Susanna at the bath. Generally the cartouche work is employed in a correct feeling for style more for the outside; thus on the above mentioned dish of J. Courtoys with prince Lichtenstein, where the interior contains a representation of Moses with the bronze serpent and many figures. This is the case with a splendid round dish by P. Reymond in the gallery of Apollo of the Louvre,

of the year 1569, whose interior contains scenes from the Old Testament.

It cannot here be our intention to give more than mere sketches, still the chief masters may find mention. Besides the before named artists of the Penicaud family, of whom the elder partly still belong to the 15 th century, as one of the most important is to be regarded the already often mentioned P. Raymond, who was continually engaged from 1534-1582. By him exist works of very different values, and indeed from the different epochs of his life it clearly results, that he worked with the aid of numerous workmen, whose works were naturally of different worth. His name was so famous, that he even received orders from Germany, and especially from Nuremberg, since then the before mentioned service of the Tucher family was obtained at the original place. That he was also highly esteemed in his home, we see by the fact that in 1557 he was chosen as a councillor.

Still greater importance and on the whole perhaps higher artistic worth had L. Limosin, who generally passes for the most eminent of these masters, although we also find to be proved in his designated works the assistance of very few assistants. His earliest certain work, scenes from the Passion after Dürer, dates from 1532. In the year 1535 he painted in gray on gray on a plaque a composition after pictures of Psyche, that is distinguished by precious blending of the tones, especially of white. Also he knew how to make the most delicate use of gold ornaments. Occasionally we also find plates by him with portraits of famous contemporaries, thus the portrait of Anne de Montmorency of the year 1536 in the gallery of Apollo of the Louvre, of extreme delicacy and cool coloring, that is still more effective by the deep blue enamel ground. The border consists of volute work with acanthus leaves, and this in gold, while the panels on black ground are gray works on gray, and also contain two splendidly drawn male and female satyrs with playing genii. By their effective muscles and their bold movement, these figures betray a very early influence of the art of Michelangelo. L. Limosin also distinguished himself by extraordinary fertility, since then his fame rose ever higher, and in 1551 he could be designated as "page of the



king's chamber". Henry II and Catherine de Medici therefore entrusted numerous orders to him. In his native city he was appointed councillor in 1571. In the year 1574 he finished the portrait of Henry II as Jupiter and of Catherine de Medici as Venus. These are the last works bearing his name; in 1577 he is reported as deceased. Of his most important works we also name the bowl of the year 1536 with the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithae in the collection of J. Rothschild, a triptych with the king at prayer of the year 1544 in the collection of A. Rothschild, then the unusually large tablets with the pictures of the apostles in the church S. Peter at Chartres, nearly 2 ft. high, executed in 1545-1547 at the order of Francis I after the sketches of the painter M. Rochetel. From the year 1553 date the paintings of the cross-bearing and the Crucifixion of Christ executed at the order of Henry II and now in the Louvre.

Of the other masters, that worked about the same time, we name J. Court, also J. Courtois, as well as the younger members of the Limosin family, Leonard II, Jean and Joseph, as well as the younger members of the Courtois family, Martial, Antoine and Pierre. Likewise a female artist, Susanne de Court, is mentioned. Skilful works were also furnished by a master, who designates himself as M. D. Pape, and finally N. Nouailher (or Noylier) deserves mention.

#### 114. Glass painting.

In the splendid development of the art industries, glass painting now had a part in the 13 th century in a very characteristic way for France. If this magnificent art had already in the 13 th century taken the highest course, and participated in the rich development of the entire church art, now it should pass through a new bloom, in which it causes recognition of a later climax of church life. It lay in the general conditions of the culture of the country, that although the Renaissance was first a secular art as everywhere, still also in France a rich impulse was due to the needs of the church. We thereby recognize again the orthodox devotion of the land, that obstructed the mighty currents of the Reformation, and finally suppressed them in blood. Thus church architecture again passed through a revival, that we have considered above, and all decorative arts and first of all glass painting, participate in

this impulse. Here now appear the strongest contrasts to Switzerland, where likewise then rose glass painting to the highest perfection, for there was this beautiful art passed as easel painting into the service of private life, while in France it remained faithful to the character of the church. But although continuing in the service of the church, it could not isolate itself from the artistic current of the time, and so it wins merely as free painting the highest artistic effect, but it finally yielded entirely to the domination of Italian art, when at the same time it employed the elegant forms of the Renaissance in architectural enclosures. In spite of so much destruction, there are still preserved in the country so many works, that France can compete with Switzerland in the abundance of the monuments. A complete history of this later glass painting, that is naturally scorned by archaeologists of the strict ritual, is still to be written. We must limit ourselves to brief indications.

Among the most famous glass painters of this epoch R. Pinagrier takes the lead. He appears to have been born about the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in 1527 and 1530 he painted several windows in S. Hilare at Chartres, which created such fame for him, that he received an entire series of such orders for the churches of Paris. In the later time of his life we find him at Tours, where also lived his sons Nicolas, Louis and Jean. Nicolas even painted in the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in S. Etienne du Mont at Paris a window with the representation of the mystic winepress. From Robert came especially came especially the choir windows in S. Gervais with the life of S. Maria with great decorative and color charm.

To the earliest masters then belongs Nicolas le Pot, of whom we learned by the glass paintings in the chapel of the chateau of Ecouen. Likewise his brother Jean le Pot was not merely a sculptor but also a glass painter. Then is to be emphasized as a prominent master Enguerrand le Prince, who died in 1530 and whose sons Jean and Nicolas also pass for skilful painters. By Jean the church at Triel (department of Seine and Oise, district of Versailles) are seven magnificent glass paintings of 1554 and 1557.

A prominent place is finally merited by J. Cousin, one of the

most important French artists of the time. Born about 1501 in Soucy near Sens, dead in 1589 --- he called himself Semonensis III he was one of those artists of the Renaissance, who in the most universal way comprehended the entire domain of art, and also sought to further the theory of art by scientific deepening. Like Michelangelo and lionardo he was employed as painter and sculptor; but at the same time he designed as glass painter and copper engraver, and even if he himself was scarcely a patternmaker, he still made many drawings for woodcuts. His scientific labors are shown by his book on perspective, as well as his book on portraiture in 1771. Doubtless Cousin made his studies in Italy, and indeed in Rome, for the types of his figures are those of the Roman school, and in the animated character of his compositions and the preference for bold foreshortenings is recognized the imitator of Michelangelo. The painting of the last judgment in the Louvre, formerly in the church of the Minorites near Vincennes, exhibits a mass of small figures in animated groups executed like a miniature, warm and clear in tone and golden in carnation, and still on the whole with no great originality. As sculptor he is well worthy of consideration by the noble statue of admiral Chabot. But his principal fame is due to the glass paintings executed by him. In this art the two masters J. Hympe and T. Grassot, by whom was the southern portal window of the cathedral of Sens, appear to have instructed him. He himself worked there about 1530 on the window with the legend of S. Eutropius, then in 1551 in S. gervais at Paris on the martyrdom of S. Laurence, the queen of Sheba, the paralytic and the Samaritan woman at the well. About 1542 in competition with Nicholas le Pot he executed the windows in the chapel of the chateau at Ecouen. Finally to his principal works belong the five windows in the castle chapel at Vincennes (Fig. 153), in which the splendor of Renaissance decoration appears with particular clearness. The visions of the Apocalypse are represented there with extraordinary animation.

Very beautiful and in the best spirit of the Renaissance are the borders of the paintings, that are mostly in two divisions above each other, below with simple arches on Doric pilasters, above executed with richer ones in the Ionic order, in the spandrels of the arches, the splendidly decorated friezes and the

rich cornice with consoles of the entablature and gable, strangely enough intersected by Gothic tracery, presenting the luxuriant abundance of the developed Renaissance art.

Of the still numerous remaining examples of glass paintings of this epoch we name in Paris those in Sa Sernin, S. Germain l'Auxerrois, S. Merry, S. Gervais, S. Medard, S. Eustache, S. Etienne du Mont. In S. Martin at Montmorency are seen two glass paintings of 1524, in S. Michel for Orge remain four glass windows probably by R. Pinaignier. To the most important cycles belong the sever magnificent windows in the church at Triel (Seine & Oise), executed in 1554-1557 by J le Prince, Christ's entry into Jerusalem, washing of his feet by Magdalena, the death of the Virgin, legendary scenes, martyrdom of S. Stephen, S. Roches, S. Martin and others, as well as the tree of Jesse, lively and animated, mostly scenes rich in figures.

But especially is the grand series of 37 windows in the church of Monfort l'Amaury (Seine & Oise) from the years 1544-1578; --- representations from the life and sufferings of Christ, the life of S. Maria, story of the apostles, in great part of high value, at the same time with magnificent architectural backgrounds and rich Renaissance porticos, which sometimes still betray the earlier, but mostly the developed forms of the style. Excellent glass paintings are then in S. Etienne at Beauvais, and preferably among them are the Apocalypse and the tree of Jesse.

Likewise Normandy, especially in its eastern parts, is always still rich in works of this kind. We name in Rouen the cathedral, S. Vincent, S. Parice, S. Godard, then in Elbosuf are S. Etienne and S. Jean, finally in the church at Gisors the beautiful glass paintings entirely under the influence of the art of Raphael, especially the noble window with scenes from the life of S. Maria.

Among these late masterworks of glass painting, also those in the church of Brou assume high rank. Perfect mastery in composition, drawing and execution in color are combined with an extremely refined decorative sense for arrangement, distribution of colors and ornamental treatment. In the last respect appears at once, that the executing artists have almost entirely outgrown the Gothic, and it only occasionally appears in

ornamental crockets and open foiled arches, while the principal forms, and particularly the canopy architecture that serves to enclose the figures, betray the forms of an elegant early Renaissance. The beauty and freshness of the materials, especially of the magnificent costumes and their decoration, enhance the truly magical impression of these precious works. In the choir are still completely preserved the five magnificent windows 42.6 ft high and divided in two parts. Their considerable height is bisected by a gallery. The middle window shows in its lower part the Saviour, who appears to his mother after his resurrection. But again in the upper part is seen the risen Christ appearing as a gardener to Magdalene, who falls at his feet, while the two women with her fill the background. In the window at the left (northern) below Philibert the Beautiful kneels before a prayer desk, with his patron saint standing behind him, while at the right (southern) his wife is in the same position and accompanied by her patron saint, S. Margaret. These representations, that are related to the usual forms of altar paintings, are distinguished by particular splendor of colors. Over them rise on sky blue grounds light gleaming canopies in Renaissance forms and richly decorated by gold ornaments. The kneeling genii with garlands, as well as the angels holding arms beneath the princely figures likewise belong to the new style. Two of these angels hold a tablet, one of which shows the date of the death of Philibert, while the other remains void; proof that this part was already completed before the death of the archduchess.

Still more magnificent becomes the effect of these splendid windows, because the upper halves are entirely filled by the arms of the princely pair, with those of their ancestors and of the courtiers, dignities and cities belonging to them. By the rich color tones, these representations gleaming with gold and silver certainly have rather a historical than an artistic interest; but they must still be termed models for such heraldic problems. Since the two other side windows are decorated in a similar manner, it is seen that already as an expression of the new time, the religious recedes behind the personal, and is in spite of all piety, worldly love of fame wins everywhere influence over the treatment and even the church problems.

Incomparably greater importance there is the principal window of the chapel of S. Maria. In five bays with a total width of about 10 ft. , it is filled by a great representation of the ascension of the Virgin. In the middle soars the sacred form of the transfigured, humbly bending the head and crossing the arms on the breast, while God the Father and Christ are enthroned at each side, and together place the heavenly crown on her head. The entire representation breathes the plain dignity of the earlier art of Flanders. Beneath the apostles surround them, partly kneeling and partly standing, with tokens of astonishment and view the open grave. Entirely in front on the contrary kneel in all princely splendor of appearance the pair of founders, accompanied by their protecting patrons standing behind them. Art has again employed on this group its entire ornamental charm. An elegant architecture of Renaissance columns forms the enclosure.

Over this rich scene is now arranged a frieze in a remarkable way, that in little figures and beautifully executed represents the triumphal procession of Christ. In the middle is seen the Saviour of the world on a chariot with the symbols of the four evangelists and drawn by the four church fathers triumphantly; before the chariot are the chief representatives of the Old Testament and behind it those of the New Testament. In the former Adam and Eve begin the march, followed by patriarchs and prophets, and the mother of the Maccabees with her seven sons; in the latter are the apostles, martyrs and other saints, among which is prominent the colossal form of the Christ-bearer (Christopher) with the Child Jesus on his shoulder. The crownings of the windows, entirely in the sense of the Renaissance, are formed of flower vases, leaf scrolls and dolphins; then the openings of the tracery are entirely filled by praying, musical and rejoicing angles, wherein the skilful use of the spaces merits astonishment.

In the neighboring chapel of Gorrevod is likewise found a well preserved window, adorned by a representation of Christ, who appears to doubting Thomas after the resurrection. Beside it kneel Laurence de Gorrevod and his second wife, Claudine de Rivoire, accompanied by their patron saints. Beneath are seen both shields of arms, but above in the crowning of the window

are the arms of Philibert and of Margaret. All these arms like those in the choir are enclosed by garlands of green leaves, whose appearance unites the accord of colors in a refined harmony. The unusually rich architecture, that encloses these representations in niches and canopies is a luxuriant mixture of Gothic and Renaissance forms, more playful and sportive than on the other windows. In the openings of the tracery are again seen numerous praying angels in a charming diversity of pose and places.

We still find two beautiful and well preserved painted windows on the south side of the church. The first belongs to the chapel of the seven sorrows, which abbot de Montecut, almoner of the princess with her consent, founded for himself in 1516. Christ is seen at the supper at Emmaus seated with the two youths and breaking the bread. Below the pious founder kneels in prayer, accompanied by S. Antonius. The upper part of the window is decorated by scenes from the story of Joseph: in little representations are seen how he was betrayed by his brothers, then is given Pharaoh's dream, he is covered with honors by him, and he is recognized by his brothers. The openings of the tracery also here are filled by singing and playing angels.

The last window in the south transept is finally devoted to the chaste Susanna. In the upper division she appears as accused before the judge, in the lower the wise Daniel brings to light her innocence and the judgment of condemnation falls upon the two old criminals. Composition and execution are here simpler, but are treated in the same spirit and feeling for style as the other windows.

The corresponding glass painting in the northern transept was destroyed by a hail storm; also the eastern half window of the chapel of S. Maria has lost its former decoration. Yet still the yet existing and well preserved parts of this rich decoration present excellent examples of this highly developed art of glass painting.

#### 115. Bookbinding.

Since we found in book illustration the first vestiges of the beginning Renaissance in France (S. 5), then may some remarks on the external treatment of books, their binding, close the circle of our investigations. It is still in this domain

of France of very great importance, so that its excellent works of the 16 th century must be regarded as models even today in the maze of bookbinding without style.

It was already known in the early middle ages for the magnificent manuscript books richly adorned by miniatures, how the Church used as gospels, antiphonaries, etc., making a costly binding indispensable. Plates of carved ivory bordered by silver or gold, or even wrought plates of gilded silver adorned by gems and pearls, formed the covers of most manuscripts on parchment arranged in folio form. In the epoch of the Gothic already occurred leather bindings over wooden boards instead of these splendid materials, and generally received artistic treatment by carved ornaments, by punched patterns and stamped forms. The principal means of ornamentation were the ornamental bands executed by metal rollers. Metal corners and clasps completed the strong expression of these monumental works.

But bookbinding attained the highest artistic development in the time of the Renaissance. Besides buildings and paintings, books were the great ambition of that great and intellectually active epoch; to possess costly copies in artistically perfect bindings was the competing endeavor in all cultured circles. The libraries of the Medici and of the Popes, particularly of Nicholas V, as well as of prominent nobles like the duke of Urbino, and then also the famous collection of king Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, were distinguished not merely by the contents, but also by the external appearance. The important Venetian printer Aldus caused the bindings of his books to be done, probably by oriental workmen, who were always famous in the treatment of leather, and thus arose the peculiar Moorish character of the ornamentation, which thence forth determined the stamp of the Renaissance binding. For from Italy was soon transplanted this treatment to France, where it experienced an especially fine development.

It is first distinctive that the literature was more flexible, and that on the whole the great and heavy mediaeval volumes, aside from many exceptions for church or scientific books ceased. In their places appeared smaller and lighter volumes, by which was made a more general and more accessible and convenient books. Thus disappeared also the heavy wooden covers of the middle ages



with their metal corners, clasps and buckles, and instead occurred a cover made of sheets of parchment, whose fineness and smoothness was important for the execution of decorations stamped in gold. Where velvet or goldsmith's work was not used as in certain cases, leather chiefly formed the covering, with that perfect preparation learned from the orientals and designated as cordovan or morocco (from Cordova and Morocco). It is further characteristic, that these books were made on linen cords, that on the back appeared as strongly projecting ribs, ("bands"), and on the earliest of these books are so numerous, that scarcely space is left for the back title, and rather a middle panel on the cover was left for the title. (Fig. 154). At first was employed a dark leather of the natural color, besides which from about 1580 occurred a bleached parchment or one variously colored, which in combination with the gold ornaments often gave to these works a magnificent polychrome expression. For the execution of the ornaments P. Gaillard invented instead of the earlier metallic rollers the so-called tools, crescent shaped irons, by the use of which the refined feeling of the artistic hand came to be employed.

As for the ornamentation itself, the deep stamping of the Gothic epoch, which in Germany was obstinately retained for a long time, was gradually supplanted by a true surface decoration. The motives for this entirely belonged to the Orient, and indeed the Moorish scroll with its peculiar leaves, completely dominates the character of this ornamentation. Yet there are also certain examples, where the somewhat more naturalistic flower scrolls of Persian art were adopted, as in that magnificent Venetian book cover of the library of F. Didot, which is adorned by a precious painting of Pyramus and Thisbe in the oval middle panel. Yet these are exceptions, since in general the Moorish-Arabian decoration predominates. It is that well known from Moorish architecture, a play of plaited and interwoven bands, as well as of richly developed scrolls, which extend in those specific Moorish leaves and flowers, for which no models are to be found in nature. Thus it is the same ornamentation, which was transferred from bookbinding to the famous Oïron faience (S. 111). This ornamentation, which brings out the surface character in a most perfect manner, and whose

high conventional perfection is based on this, that it is never untrue to this, being merely a harmless play of forms delighting the eyes, never desiring independent importance, extends over the surface while its free and often grandly curved lines are adapted to the given space in the happiest way (Fig. 155). As a rule a middle panel is reserved for the arms of the owner or the title of the book, and is enclosed by a beautifully conventionalized border of interlaced bands. Further a wider border decorated by scroll work extends around the cover. The remaining surfaces are then either left vacant or are filled by ornaments, whose graceful character effectively varies from that of the other parts. The entire surface is frequently divided by interlacing bands proceeding from the middle panel, into a number of beautifully designed panels, whose ornamentation then again contrasts with that employed on the other surfaces. This contrast on which the astonishing effect of these beautiful works is based, is even increased by the use of leathers of different colors, properly called leather mosaic, when the bands and lines are inlays of brightly colored leather of greater delicacy become prominent on the darker ground. The highest splendor is then obtained by these by gilding the ornaments, when the leaves and flowers are mostly hatched (Fig. 156). Besides these richer examples are also simpler ones, on which variously interlaced bands and lines form the sole motive of the decoration (Fig. 154). These are also characterized in greater simplicity by the noble style treatment. Fig. 154 gives an example from the collection of M. Dutuit.

This is the character of the binding which the famous book-lover J. Grolier first introduced in France. Living until 1535 as treasurer at Milan, and then called to the same position in France, he had learned in Italy to know the beautiful bookbindings of the Renaissance and introduced them into France, where until his death in 1565 he successively served four queens. According to the statements of his contemporaries he caused the books to be bound under his own eyes in his palace, and even took part himself. The Grolier bindings are of distinguished elegance, unsurpassed in harmony of the finely suited soft tones, in technical perfection, magnificent coloring and the charm of the design. The covers are mostly made of morocco or

brown calfskin, the ornaments in gold or olive green, also indeed executed in gold and black on a brown ground. These noble works with the inscription, "for Grolier and his friends", now cost thousands.

Likewise G. Tory already known to us (p. 20 etc.) devoted his attention to bookbinding. The bindings produced by him are mostly made on sheepskin, as a rule are only adorned by ornaments stamped in gold, but exceptionally have additions in colors. His arabesques show fine scroll work, which we already know from his borders. As a rule he knows how to combine with these in the most skilful manner his mark, a broken jug. Also the edges of the books were not left plain, but to them were often given colored ornaments on the gold ground, executed with the punch. It is peculiar, that the bindings executed for Francis I are distinguished by great simplicity; mostly made of black leather or velvet of the same color, as a rule then are adorned by plain and broadly treated bands, in whose interlacings already appears the beginning cartouche. We give in Fig. 157 an example from the collection of M. Dutuit. In the middle panel is then seen on a dotted ground the royal arms with the salamander, all in gold. These bands make a particularly dignified impression.

More magnificent and elegant appear the bindings that Henry II caused to be executed for himself or for Diana of Poitiers. (Fig. 158). In chateau Anet were found about 300 of these splendid bindings on goatskin or sheepskin. Their ornamentation consists mostly of cartouche work; yet occur also the simple and refined arabesques of the earlier time, mixed with quivers, arrows and the crossed crescents of Diana. A beautiful example of the bindings executed for this king is given in Fig. 159, characterized by the dignified economy of the ornaments. In the middle panel is the richly enclosed royal arms with the initial of Henry. On another unusually magnificent binding in the possession of M. Dutuit is placed in the middle and on the four corners the portrait of the king in the form of an antique imperial medallion crowned with laurel (Fig. 160). Further belongs to the most beautiful of such products of this time a binding executed for Anne de Montmorency, given in Tachener, that we give in Fig. 161. The broad interlaced bands in

their beautiful design form an animated contrast to the fine ornaments of the margin and the spiritedly treated larger ones of the inner surfaces.

About the end of the 16 th century appears a new booklover in the well known French statesman and curator of the royal collections and library, C. A. de Thou, who again devoted his particular care to binding, after under Henry III of sinister memory a mode of treatment had occurred, that by its geometrically distributed shields with the implements of the crucifixion stamped in blind work or in silver produced a a singular and morose harmony corresponding to the character of the king. De Thou's bindings, adhering to the precedent of Grolier, again rise to splendid beauty. Mostly made of red morocco and decorated by the initial and arms of the owner at the middle, they are divided into separate panels by broad interlaced bands, only the smaller of these being adorned by Arabian scroll work, while the larger surfaces are ornamented by beautifully conventionalized laurel, olive and oak leaves. The technical execution is of the highest perfection.

In the 17 th century is the bookbinder of Anne of Austria, Le Gascon, was busied till 1655, who upheld the great traditions of France in this domain (Fig. 162). Adhering to the earlier mode of treatment, he frequently employed interlaced bands as the chief motive for the division of the surfaces. The panels of manifold forms resulting thereby he then filled by a play of lines, that had nothing more to do with Moorish elements, although it was based on an allied principle of surface decoration. But the last echo of natural foliage is removed, and consisting of dots (made with the point) arranged beside each other, having spirals and produced by stamps, received new life by certain bolder points. Particularly was it Le Gascon, who had to execute the books for the famous library of a cardinal Mazarin. The dignified magnificence of these bindings was first based on the monochrome tone of the leather and the both rich and noble design of the ornaments and the happy division of the surfaces (Fig. 163). Interlaced bands in firm connections form a system of variously designed panels, the middle one being adorned by the arms of the cardinal and the others by ornamental scroll work. All other surfaces are covered by

an arabesque of the most original invention and refinement of lines, whose intervals he animated by innumerable little dots. The technical mastery of the execution of these ornaments placed in shining gold on monochrome ground is of unsurpassable charm.

These are the last undertakings of stylish French bookbinding. Soon occurred an unquiet play with all sorts of novel color effects instead of noble ornamentation, and since then men went so far as to imitate marble and granite ("granite calf"), even to give the leather the appearance of watered double taffeta fabric, imitating in the ornamentation lace and fanlike forms, so that thereby were lost the ground principles of creation in the style. Our consideration has nothing more to do with these disorders.

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